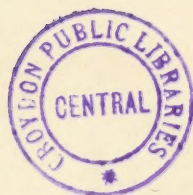
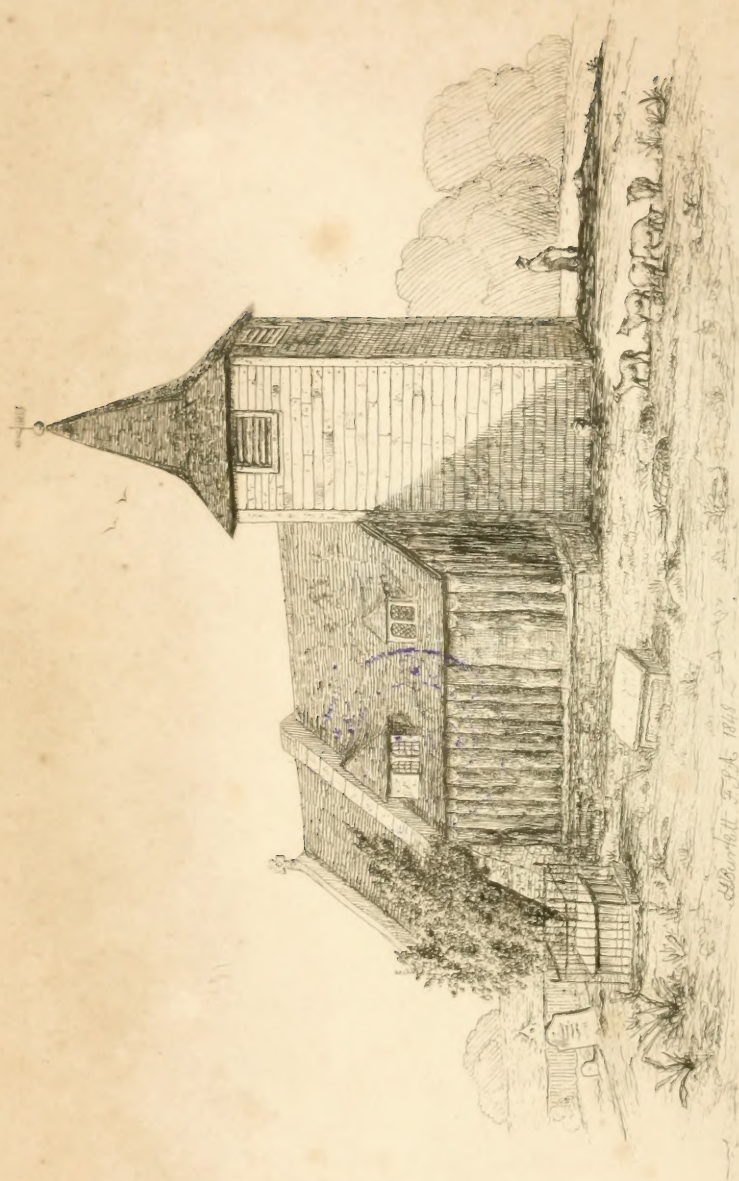


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The Shrine of St Edmund
GREENSTED CHURCH, ESSEX.

June 1848.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British

Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



VOL. V.

London:

PUBLISHED BY HENRY G. BOHN,
AT THE OFFICE OF THE ASSOCIATION,
YORK-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN.

MDCCCL.

8322

LONDON:
RICHARDS, 100, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.




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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

APRIL 1849.

NOTES ON

A WOODEN CHURCH, AND THE REMAINS OF THE SHRINE OF ST. EDMUND THE MARTYR, AT GREENSTEAD, ESSEX.

THERE is abundant evidence to prove that, in the early ages of Christianity, many ecclesiastical establishments in this country were constructed entirely of wood. Bede relates that, in 627, Edwin the king, on his conversion from paganism, was solemnly baptized and initiated into the mysteries of the Christian religion in a wooden church, on the spot where now stands the cathedral of York. The first church at Lindisfarne, in Holy Island, was constructed in 652, of sawn oak, and thatched. William of Malmsbury mentions a church of wood at Dutlinge, in Somersetshire; and Ingulphus relates, that the abbey of Croyland, with all the extensive outbuildings, was formed of wood and boards, exactly joined and beautifully worked, with the exception of the roof, which was covered with lead. In a charter to Malmsbury abbey, granted by king Edgar, occurs a clause relating to certain reforms necessary to the welfare of the establishment. It is there expressed, "that having often attentively considered what return he should make to God for the extraordinary prosperity he enjoyed, he came to this resolution: that he would restore the sacred monasteries which, by being composed of rotten shingles and worm-eaten boards, divine

service was neglected in them, and they were almost deserted; and had issued gifts from his treasury for the repairing of the ruined edifices." In early records connected with Glastonbury, we find that a church was erected there of pieces of wood wattled together after the fashion of hurdles. The curious illustrations of Caedmon's *Metrical Paraphrase*, as well as other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, exhibit many examples of palaces and churches evidently formed of wood. In the Cotton MS. (Nero, c. 4), an example occurs of a building, in which Harold is represented as sitting receiving the Magi: this is evidently of wood wattled together as before mentioned.

Probably, the only existing remnant of these primitive structures is to be seen at Greenstead, in Essex; but which has recently undergone a thorough course of repair. This is greatly to be lamented, on account of the absolute necessity of removing large portions, and curtailing the original composition. This church has more than ordinary claims on the attention of the antiquary, from the historical interest attached to it, and that resting on clearer evidence than many of our more important churches can boast. We have it recorded, that in this place was enshrined the body of Edmund the Martyr, a king whose life and death have formed themes for songs of the old Saxon poets, for the miracle-workers of that and subsequent periods and traditions in that neighbourhood, which time, for ages after the last timber has crumbled to dust, will not obliterate.

The accounts which we have of the circumstances connected with the death of the king are various, but in the main points they agree. The best are probably those of Abbo Floriacensis and Galfridus. They relate, that on his surrender to the two Danish princes, Hyngwar and Ubba, and on his refusal to comply with their terms, he was bound to a tree and beaten with short bats, and then made a mark for exercising the skill of the archers. After his body had been pierced with many arrows, finding his mind still invincible, his head was ordered to be struck off, "and thus he deied, kyng, martyr, and virgyne", on 20th Nov. A.D. 870, in the 29th year of his age. On the departure of the Danes, the East Anglicans assembled to pay the last tribute of affection to their martyred king,—

the body was found bound to a tree,¹ but nowhere could they find the head. At last, after a search for forty days in the woods of Eglesden, the head was discovered between the fore paws of a wolf, which immediately resigned its charge unmutilated, and quietly retired into the wood: "An unkouth thyng," says Lydgate, "and strange ageyne nature." The head, on being placed in contact with the trunk, united with it so closely, that the separation was merely indicated, adds the same authority, by a slight mark "like a purpil thred".

The abbot of Fleury goes on to state, that the remains were taken and buried in a wooden chapel at Hoxne,² in Suffolk, where they remained *in terrâ defossus* for thirty-three years, when they were removed to a larger church, also constructed of wood,³ at Bedrichesworth (Bury), in 903, at which time there was no sign of decomposition of the body. Here it rested in a splendid shrine, and received the homage of the pious.⁴

Peter Langtoft gives us the following metrical version of the affair. (Hearne's *Langtoft*, p. 22.)

"Elfride had a kosyn, that kyng was of scheld,
Northfolk, and Southfolk, and Elfride, he held.

¹ Tradition has pointed out a certain tree as the identical one to which St. Edmund was bound, and which suddenly fell in September last. The trunk measured twenty feet in circumference; the branches, some of them measuring seventy feet in length; the entire tree containing seventeen loads of timber. Within a few days of this discovery, a quantity of wolves' bones were dug up near St. Edmund's grave, at Bury. These circumstances caused inquiry to be made in connexion with the martyrdom, which led to the discovery of a portion of iron embedded in the heart of the oak tree; which was, of course, immediately pronounced to be that *which caused the death of the king!*

² A.D. 1226. Thomas De Blumville, bishop of Norwich, confirmed all revenues to God, and the chapel of St. Edmund, at Hoxne. At the dissolution, this cell had revenues worth £40. The existing remains of this chapel are very inconsiderable, and now occupied as a farm-house, on the estate of

lieutenant-general sir Edward Kerri-son, and known as the Abbey Farm.

³ "Per maximam ligneo tabulata basilicam."—Curtey's *Regis*. Batteley, p. 124. "Per maximam miro ligneo tabulata ecclesiam"—Abbo Flor. *Collect.* Buri.

⁴ The last account that we have of the existence, or rather destruction of this shrine, is recorded in a letter from the visitors of Bury Abbey to lord Cromwell:—"Pleasyth it youre lordship to be advertised that we have been at Saynte Edmondsbury, where we found a riche shryne, which was very eumberous to deface." In another letter it is mentioned—"Amongest the reliques we founde moche vanitie and supersticion,—as the coles that St. Lawrence was tosted withal; and paring of St. Edmund's naylls; St. Thomas of Cantur. pemekayff, and his bootess; divers skulls for the headache; peeces of the holie cross, able to make a hole crosse, and other reliques for rayne, and certaine other supersticious."

That was Saynt Edmund the crowne that tyme bare,
 A duke of Denmark, his name was Inguare,
 That, an erle of Hancis, with that Inguar kam,
 Uppon Saynt Edmund, Northfolk he nam.
 Edmund sent his messengers of pes than besouht,
 Inguar sent bode ageyn that pes wuld be nouht.
 Bot if he gald him the lond than he suld haf pes,
 That wuld not Saynt Edmund, the bataile he ches.
 He attired him to bataile with folk that he had,
 But this cursed Danes so grete oste ay had,
 That Edmund was taken and slayn at the last,
 Full fer fro the body lay was the hede kast.
 The body son thei fonde, the hede was in doute,
 Up and doune in the felde thei souht it aboute;
 To haf knowing thereof, alle thei were in were,
 Till the hede himself said,—Here, here, here!
 Ther thei fonde the hede is now a faire chapelle,
 Oxen hate the toun ther the body felle.
 Ther where he was shotte another chapelle standes,
 And somewhat of that tree thei bond untill his hands,
 The tone is fro the tother moten a grete myle,
 So far bare a woulfe the hede, and kept it a grete while,
 Unto the hede said, ‘Here’, als I befor said,
 Fro the woulfe thei it toke, unto the body it laid,
 Men sais ther he ligges the flesch samen gede,
 But the token of the wonde als a rede threde.
 Now lies he in schryne in gold that is rede,
 Seven yere was he kyng that tyme that he was dede.”

The next account of interest connected with the remains of St. Edmund is, that of the flight of the monks with the precious relics from Bedrichesworth to London, their return with them, and the erection of the shrine at Greenstead; the particulars of which will be now noticed.

In the library at Lambeth is a manuscript entitled *Vita et Passio Sancti Edmundi*, in which occurs the following passages:—“A.D. MX, et anno regis Ethelredi xxx. S. Edmundus propter infestationem Turkilli, comitis Danorum, Londoniani est ab Ailwino translatus; sed tertio anno sequente ad Bedricesworthe est reversus.”—“Quidem apud Stapleford hospitio ccepit corpus ejus in redeundo de London.”

The ancient road, it is well known, passed from London

to Bury, through Oldford, Abridge, Stapleford, Greenstead, Dunmow, and Clare.

In the *Monasticon*, we find, in the recital of another manuscript, entitled *Registrum Canobii Sancti Edmundi*, "Idem apud Aungre hospitabatur, ubi in ejus memoria lignea capella permanet usque hodie."

In 1748, Smart Lethewillier, F.S.A. drew up an account of this wooden church, which was published in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, with a plate; at which time there existed, nearly entire, the series of split trees, which formed the four walls of the nave; since which, from time to time, considerable alterations have been made. The east end, opening into the chancel, was removed to connect the two parts, as well as a large portion at the west end, to form a communication with the tower—the lower part of which formed the vestry; the south side was broken into for the chief entrance, leaving the north side the only fair specimen of the old building.

The entire length of the original shrine was twenty-nine feet nine inches; the breadth, fourteen feet. The sill rested on a low wall of brick, which formed the groundwork. The upper part of the frame consisted of rough hewn timber, with a groove cut in the under part; the uprights forming the walls, by being cut in the form of a wedge at the top, were inserted into the groove, and made fast by wooden pins. The series of the outer timbers, which formed the walls before mentioned, were segments of trees, with a board about one and a-half inch thick, taken from the middle; these boards probably serving for the interior lining of the shrine. On a careful inspection of the remaining portions, there appears no indication of the slightest ornament throughout, or any provision for the admission of light, which may fairly be considered as an additional reason for confirming the evidence already advanced, and assigning to it a simple resting-place, or temporary shrine, for the body of the saint—erected as the next after that offered by the lord of the manor of Stapleford, about seven miles from this place; who, Lydgate relates, for the hospitable entertainment, received as a recompense a speedy recovery from a languishing illness.

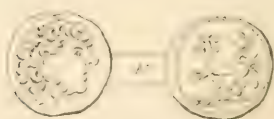
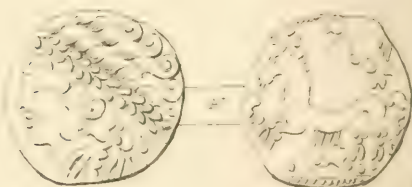
The recent demolition of this primitive relic exhibited,

to a fearful extent, the ravages of the *ptinus pectinicornis*, an insect of the beetle tribe well known to naturalists, and which has hitherto baffled all attempts to eradicate it from timber once attacked. It is, however, worth the serious consideration of those interested in our national antiquities, to notice the habits of this insect, by which it will be found to work only for a very brief period in the year, and afford means, by using some obnoxious poison to the wood, to arrest its insidious work. This is particularly worthy the attention of those in whose care this church may be entrusted; and, if possible, to save to posterity the few remaining timbers placed there by the pious zeal of our ancestors; which, although probably then intended only as a temporary shrine over the remains of their saint, has weathered the storms of more than eight hundred winters.

The mercenary motives which it is common to assign to the arts of the priesthood in those days, cannot justly be charged in this instance, — where we find, in the deep recesses of a wood, in an obscure and thinly peopled part of the country, and at considerable labour, large oaks cut down, split and wrought as a covering over the body of one whose spirit they imagined exercised an influence over their destinies. There can be little doubt we are greatly indebted to chance for the existence in our days of any portion of this ancient shrine, which has undergone, from time to time, considerable mutilation, to adapt it to different forms of worship; and it is gratifying to find that every means have been adopted for its preservation, so that the present age shall be guiltless of neglecting one of the most interesting memorials of past times.

A. H. BURKITT.





ON THE COINS OF CUNOBELINE AND OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

PART VIII.

ORIGIN OF THE BRITISH AND GAULISH COINAGES.

SOME writers place the adoption of a metallic currency, or more properly speaking, a medallie currency, among the families of mankind, no earlier than B.C. 800, a period possibly a century or two too late. If this opinion be correct, it was not more than two centuries from the earliest period at which coin was used, that the Gauls were first made acquainted with it by the Phocæan,—that is, the Greek colony at Marseilles,—who are believed to have settled there about six hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. The date of this event we collect from Justin's *History*, book xliii, 3, who tells us it occurred in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. In the first instance, the coins which were struck seem to have been confined to Marseilles; the types being chiefly human heads, birds, beasts, etc. As ultimately, in later times, the coinage of Marseilles had no decisive influence on that of the rest of Gaul, beyond its immediate vicinity, we may here conclude our mention of coin-ing matters connected with this city, by noting that, in process of time, the original types seem to have given way to heads of Apollo and Diana, bulls, lions, and tripods, with the wheel with four spokes sometimes introduced; whilst the neighbouring cities of Nemausus, Kainikia, Lakydon, and other places in the vicinity, struck coins evidently influenced by the style of those of Marseilles. (Lelewel, page 114.) However, the reader may be referred to the learned and interesting work of Mr. Akerman (*The Coins of Cities and Princes*), who has a copious account, and many delineations of the coins of Marseilles.



For about two hundred and sixty-five years after the establishment of a Greek colony at the above-mentioned city, and a coinage there, the monetary art seems to have

made no further progress. In the meantime events occurred which were likely to lead the way for a coinage being established among the Gauls generally. In B.C. 390, Rome had been taken and sacked by the Gauls under Brennus, and the capitol redeemed by ransom; as has been shewn by Niebuhr, in his *Roman History*, vol. ii, p. 282. There were also other predatory expeditions of the Gauls, so that foreign coined money and bullion began to accumulate rapidly in their country.

There being thus collected in the country ample materials for a coinage, that one should accordingly ensue was only what was to be expected in the natural course of events. History is silent as to the precise time of the adoption of a coinage in Gaul, and also of the circumstances attending its first establishment. It seems this coinage did not take place immediately, consequent to the immense booty they must have made in the fifty years of their continual incursions into Italy, which became so remarkable in history between the years B.C. 395 and B.C. 345. Within that period they had plundered Etruria and the north of Italy several times, and sacked Rome, as has been remarked, under Brennus; but hitherto foreign coin,



jewel-money, ring-money, and ornaments of gold and silver, seemed to have sufficed them as a circulating medium. However, in the reign of Philip II of Macedon, a most extensive coinage

of gold staters was struck in that country, between the years B.C. 360 and B.C. 336, which commerce seems to have diffused over the ancient world. The Gauls had before this penetrated into Illyria and Pannonia, under their leader Sigovesus; but they had not yet achieved their conquests in Greece under Brennus, the second of that name, which was above sixty years later, in the year B.C. 278, when they plundered Delphi. The Macedonian staters had therefore probably reached them in two ways before this last event: viz., those which had been brought home from foreign countries as the spoils of conquest, and those which had been received at Marseilles in the interchange of commerce, and found their way into the interior of the country.

The time having elapsed in which foreign coin and substitutes for money were found sufficient, imitations of the staters and didrachmas of Macedonia began to be struck in Gaul. We may assign the date of this, with some approach to certainty, to about the year B.C. 335. We may consider the date ascertained within a dozen years either way, as it could not have been a great deal later, according to any credible supposition. It could only have been a rather recent coin that would have been imitated for present currency; and at a date much later than B.C. 335, they would have imitated some other coin. These coins of



Macedonia had on one side the head of Philip; on the other, Diana driving her biga, as the goddess of night; which, on some specimens, it seems by an easy transition, was converted to Phœbus in his car. It may be added, that the Gaulish artists, in copying these coins for national use, in some cases inserted the whole word, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, on the new types, in other cases preserved only a part of it, more or less incorrectly transcribed; and at times omitted it entirely.¹

The precise time which this unnatural species of currency continued to exist is unknown. But as a medallie currency was possibly then but little in vogue, the period may be assigned to it of a generation, or thirty years; when about B.C. 305, as we may assume, a national currency, properly speaking, commenced in Gaul. According to the usual process in other nations, this should have exhibited on the obverses the heads of the rulers of the various states, or the emblems peculiar to those states; but a singular exception took place with regard to this primitive coinage. It must have been by some general national consent, or solemn act of the priesthood, that the coinage had no reference to any individual ruler or state; but was of a

¹ The learned numismatist the marquis De Lagoy, in his "*Mélanges de Numismatique*", 4to, 1845, page 13, asserts, that the Gauls always affixed

to these early copies a mark, or stripe, crossing the face of the obverse in a slanting direction.—See his plate, i, 6.

general mythological character, and only applicable to particular states by some emblem inserted. The Macedonian type became the basis of this coinage. The head on the obverse seems to have become sometimes Phœbus, the Belinus of the Gauls, sometimes Diana,¹ the figure driving the two-horsed, or one-horsed car; on the reverse, sometimes merely a charioteer, but rather more commonly some grotesque or fantastic being, the creature of the



imagination. The Gaulish states which adopted this coinage, seem to have been those of central Gaul:—the Andecavi, Aulerci-Cenomani, Senones, Carnutes, Tu-

rones, Insubres, Ambarri, the Bituriges of two divisions, the Bituriges-Cubi and Bituriges-Vibisci, the Pictones, Santones, and Arverni. These were Celtic states of pure blood, and seem to have been the flower and strength of ancient Gaul. The majority indeed of these states are named as having been in the army of Bellovesus, when he made his celebrated invasion of Italy, about B.C. 395;² and according to every probability, all the states of central Gaul formed part of that army, and had been used to act together on other occasions. The supposition may therefore be reasonably entertained, that it was to cement the common bond of union among them, as well as to do honour to their principal divinities, that they adopted this mythological style of coinage, which, it is believed, was before without any parallel among the nations of antiquity.³

¹ The reverse of a Roman coin, obviously copied from the reverses of the staters of Philip, has Diana to the right driving her biga; inscription round the coin, LVNA LVCIFERA; and in the exergue, S.C.

² Livy, in his "Roman History", v, 34, represents Bellovesus the original conductor of the expedition, of which that of Brennus was an offshoot, as summoning the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Ælvi, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci, to take a part in it. We must naturally suppose that the minor states of central Gaul were dependants of some of these.

³ Gaulish coins of types cognate to this class, and to the ensuing variation of the mythological class,—that of Armorica, which will shortly be mentioned,—very generally present the delineation of a square object, held by the driver before the horse. M. Deville, in France, has lately maintained it to be a horse trapping, taken from the enemy, and waved in triumph by the driver of the chariot. M. Lambert, of Bayeux, in his "Réponse à la Dissertation de M. A. Deville", 4to, Caen, 1848, suggests it to be a veil, or peplum, sacred to Diana. Indeed such on the whole it may be pronounced to

The Gaulish states presented a remarkable feature of being congregated together for the purpose of military expeditions; which, after electing a commander-in-chief, they carried on with a singular unity of purpose, and on the whole with great success. These expeditions, when determined to be undertaken, were doubtlessly not commenced without lengthened religious ceremonies, and numerous invocations of their gods, to whom they might devote their enemies as well as consecrate their spoils. When crowned with success, it may easily be conceived, that attributing the fortunate event to their gods, in becoming possessed of the treasures of their enemies, they may have wished to impress their representations on the coin into which the captured bullion was converted. The various confederate princes and chiefs, at the suggestion of their priests, and to do honour to their gods, may have consented to forego impressing their own effigies; and the custom once begun, might have been perpetuated as a national usage.

Here then appears to be the real origin of the “types muets”, which are so singular a feature in the Gaulish coinage: of that very numerous series of this coinage, wherein no letter is expressed, and on which it is evident that the head of no chief is represented, but always the effigies of a deity, and the constantly varied representation of the horse and its charioteer on the reverse. Extraordinary as the above numismatic facts may be, it is believed that the eminent writers of the continent on the Gaulish coinage will not contradict them; and they are supported by the circumstance, that the Belgian Gauls, who neither took a part in the expeditions, nor belonged to the alliances of the centre, had not the same type; though, indeed, they had types which appear to have been a subsequent derivation from it; while the Armorican Gauls, who doubtlessly did take part in many of the expeditions, but do not appear always to have done so, had a very similar type, though not quite the same.



be, or else a vexillum, or standard of the Gauls themselves. This would have been more consistent with the evidently

permanent nature of this coinage, which may be judged not to have been influenced by occasional events.

This national type having become established in Gaul, it seems to have been perpetuated for about two centuries. Though, as time advanced, there appear to have been great variations introduced in the delineation of the reverse,—winged genii and prostrate Roman soldiers being intro-



duced. Sometimes, even a bird is represented as driving the car. These subsequent alterations and deviations seem to bring this coinage down to the period of Cæsar's in-

vasion of Gaul in B.C. 58.¹

At this period the former national peculiarity of coinage seems to have been at once completely broken up. The reason of this may have been, that all the states of Gaul being now engaged in hostilities,—the Belgian Gauls, Armoricans, and Aquitani, some of whom had not been accustomed to be included in alliance with central Gaul,—this style of coinage might not have been considered so applicable. Add to this, the war being now within the country, and not out of it, the chiefs were obliged to canvass for support, more as individuals than before, and to make themselves personally more prominent. Therefore, to strike their own individual coins, or those of their own states, might have been more to their advantage. From these two causes, probably, this singular system became extinct.

To give an account, however, of the Gaulish coinage, and to give minute details of its various particulars, is very far from our present purpose: our object being no other than to shew its origin as illustrative of the cognate coinage of Britain. We now, therefore, pass on to some few researches on the earliest monetary proceedings of our own island.

As we commence with the proposition, that the British

¹ Some years since, the editors of "*La Revue Numismatique*", suggested that researches should be made to identify various of these uninscribed types with localities, by means of the different emblems which they bear. M. C. Drouet, of Mans, has published an essay on the subject (8vo, Mans, 1843), in which he identifies coins with the emblem of a hand, with Poitou; those

with the androcephalous horse trampling under foot a winged genius, or a warrior, with Maine. M. Duchalais, in his learned work on the "*Gaulish Coins in the National Cabinet at Paris*", 8vo, 1846, p. 345, remarks, that these types are equally found in La Beauce. It is only, therefore, approximation which is thus possible.

coinage, or rather one particular branch of it, was derived from the coinage of central Gaul, we may accordingly at once proceed to illustrate by what process this may be supposed to have taken place; how, in fact, it could have been transfused from its place of origin to this country; which, of course, immediately leads us to shew what facilities might have been afforded by religion or commerce for that purpose.

The type of central Gaul, which had evidently taken great hold of the minds of the people, and continued rather more than two centuries, prevailed, it seems from French writers, with but little variation, also in Armorica; which region was the great focus of druidism, as clearly appears from existing remains of the extensive druidical temple at Carnac, and other monuments connected with the tenets of this priesthood. Now, according to Cæsar (*Gaulish Wars*, vi, 13), druidism had even a still stronger hold on the Britons than on the Gauls themselves; for he relates, that it was thought that this superstition had originated in Britain; and mentions, that in his time persons went from Gaul to that country to be instructed in it. The monetary type of central Gaul, the "type muet" entirely consecrated to religion, must therefore have been an object of much interest to the ancient Britons, deeply imbued as they were with druidism.

As to communications by commerce between Britain and Gaul, they certainly were very considerable; and part of this communication was with central Gaul. Diodorus Siculus informs us (v, 22, 38), that tin was exported from Britain to Gaul, and transported through Gaul to the mouths of the Rhone and to Narbonne. It appears also from Strabo (books ii and iv), that there was much commercial intercourse between Britain and Gaul generally.

As to conquests, by which this type might have been communicated, we do not find indeed that the states of central Gaul made conquests in Britain, though the Belgic Gauls did to great extent.

Setting aside therefore conquest, there seems to have been sufficient authenticated communication between Gaul and Britain by religion and commerce. The Britons also, it would appear, joined occasionally in the Gaulish military expeditions. One of the Gaulish chiefs conquered by

Paulus Æmilius, as we find by Florus' *Roman History*, ii, 4, was styled Britomarus, and must evidently have been, from his name, a Briton born: we find also, that the Veneti, a people of Armorica, received succours from Britain in their naval war with the Romans, recorded in Caesar's *Commentaries*, iii, 10.

Thus early could have been the type communicated. We now come to the second particular, namely, what evidence there is from the frequency of these types in this country that they became nationalized and were struck by the ancient Britons.

The delineation of Mr. Crafter's coin (fig. 1 of the plate) will best shew the variation of the type of central Gaul which reached this island, and was adopted here. At a shortly ensuing page we may more fully describe this coin and others of the class; we may therefore merely here observe, that the enormous head-dress of the obverse was not a characteristic of central Gaul, but a subsequent addition.

On referring to the opinions of numismatists as to these coins, we find that M. Lelewel is inclined to assign these types to the Belgian-Gauls, selecting rather doubtfully the Bellovaci as the particular state to which he thought they might belong. Compare the passages at pages 6, 86, 170, 174, and 185, of his work. M. Lambert supposes them Belgic (*Numismatique du Nord-Ouest de la France*, p. 66); Ruding gives them as British coins, as also Mr. C. Roach Smith (*Collectanea Antiqua*, pl. vi, 4). They are engraved as British in Gough's *Camden*, pl. i, fig. 4; in Stukeley's *Plates*, xv, 4; and in Borlase's *History of Cornwall*, pl. xix, where two or three specimens are given, as part of the celebrated Karnbrê collection, of which we shall presently further speak.

As to their places of finding, the *Collectanea Antiqua* (page 6), records one found at Sutton Valence, in Kent. Mr. Crafter, of Gravesend, has two fine specimens: one found at Northfleet, near the former place, in the year 1812 (see the plate, fig. 1); the other at Swanscombe, a place in the same vicinity, in 1812. In July 1847, a coin, also of this description, was found at Boxley, near Maidstone, and is in possession of T. Charles, esq. of that place. From their occurrence in England so numerous in our

collections, there is every probability that many more instances might be ascertained of their places of finding in our country. This circumstance does not seem to have been wholly unknown to Lelewel, who remarks, from the information he obtained, that it appears that this money (the type fig. 2 of the plate) is found rarely in Belgium; but the type fig. 1 more frequently in England. (*Type Gaulois*, p. 170.) We have noted that he elsewhere gives the whole of them to the Bellovaci. His arguments for doing so appear to be extremely indefinite; and it is to be noted, that while the type fig. 1 is so plentiful in England, he engraves it from Ruding, and M. Lambert from the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris. Without doubt, Lelewel was not aware to what extent this type abounds in England; though that we may have one of the types in common with the Bellovaci, may not be at all impossible.

It is not necessary to follow this topic further, as we have this subject so highly illustrated by the celebrated Cornish collection, to which we have before alluded, that we may now proceed to describe it. The details of this collection, which are but little known either in England or on the continent, enable positions of importance to be taken up in regard to our British coinage.

THE KARNBRË COINS.

At Karnbrê, a place situated towards the extremity of Cornwall, are various tumuli, which Borlase mentions; but does not describe particularly the place of finding. The coins were all of pure gold; and the first portion of them was found in June 1749, and were sold by the finder for £16. A few days afterwards a like quantity was found near the same spot. Calculating the average weight of these coins, and the small sums usually obtained in gross by the finders of such-like hoards, disposing of them under the fear of seizure from lords of manors, and others having superior claims, it is probable the whole quantity was about a thousand in number. The discovery, however, was so unexpected, that the whole were quickly dispersed, without much attention, it seems, being directed to the circumstance; but some came into the hands of Dr. Borlase, who published his history a few years afterwards.

Dr. Borlase engraved seventeen of them; and wrote a dissertation upon them in his work; and himself afforded a singular phenomenon, in arising at once into a first-rate numismatist, giving faithful portraits of each coin, and correct particulars and details respecting them; which was the more remarkable, as other writers of those times often neglected such matters. He suggested, that they might possibly have been the earliest coinage of the island; a surmise by no means improbable. We may now, however, proceed to a description of them.

Of the coins which he engraves, ten are the most noticeable, which we may divide into three classes. The rudest and most primitive coins seem to be required to be placed in the two first classes; therefore, those of which we have spoken at a shortly preceding page,—the ones analogous to Mr. Crafter's type,—which are those attributed by Lelwel, in one place of his work, to the Bellovaci; and at another place, partly attributed by the said eminent writer to Britain, will be found in Class 3; and when there mentioned, some of their details will be described.

Class 1.—This affords us the very unusual representation of trees, or rather boughs of trees, delineated on coins (see the plate, figs. 3, 4)—the why and the wherefore of which seems by no means easy to explain. The boughs have a somewhat interlaced appearance; and on one of them a bird is introduced. The coins which compose this class in Borlase's plate XIX, are figs. 2, 3, 6, 12.

Class 2.—This, which comprises figs. 8, 9, 10, 11, of the said plate, has a horse in a very rude form; the four legs resembling four pillars, and the figure of the animal hardly recognizable (see fig. 5 of the plate). A coin of this class is delineated in the *Numismatic Journal*, vol. i, plate I, British coins, fig. 9; and in the references to the coin, at page 223, it is stated to have been one of a considerable number found in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, where pieces of a similar character are said to be of frequent occurrence. Ruding has two engraved, plate I, 9, and III, 52. Stukeley has three also, viz., plate I, fig. 2; plate III, 5, which approximates; and plate XIII, 3. Both these two last but slightly vary as engraved; and have the letter M inscribed underneath the horse. Whether, however, such letter actually occurs, requires verification.

The obverses of all these coins have the central portion of a rude head.

Class 3.—The best representative of this class is Mr. Crafter's coin (see the plate, fig. 1); though a specimen of that particular type happened not to be in the Karnbrê collection. As being strictly cognate, and the principal type of the class, we may accordingly proceed with it first. This is certainly a very handsome coin, and of great interest, from its truly Celtic appearance. We may describe it as follows:—obverse, wreathed head of Apollo Belinus to the left, represented with an enormous head of hair curled with a great deal of regularity, and confined behind the ears with a peculiar ornament, in shape like the extremity of a shepherd's crook. In front, on the temples and sides of the face, appear to be some semi-lunar ornaments. Reverse, a disjointed horse to the left, as well as some imperfect rudiments of a wheel below, and a driver above. The legs of the horse are bifid, or divided into two at the knee joints,—a peculiarity confined to the cognate coins which compose this class. This coin, as noted at a former page, has been engraved by Lelewel, Ruding, C. Roach Smith, and others. It is engraved for illustration as fig. 20, of the said plate XIX, of Borlase.

No. 1 (see the plate, fig. 6) is a variety of Mr. Crafter's coin; obverse, features of the face larger, head less protruded; reverse, the driver more made out. This is Borlase's XIX, 16, and Ruding's I, 19 is cognate to it. The above two coins are of the size of tetradrachmas.

No. II, our fig. 7, a coin of small size, refers to fig. 1 of the plate, to which it is very similar. It is Borlase's XIX, 15, and Ruding's I, 20, apparently.

Borlase has further a third coin (XIX, 14), evidently one cognate with this class, from the horse of the reverse; but the obverse being much defaced, it is doubtful to which of the two large sizes it approximates. His concluding Karnbrê type, XIX, 17, which seems to be Ruding's I, 7, and Lambert's VI, II, is probably British. The five others which he gives of the Karnbrê collection are indistinct. He very properly engraves for illustration a coin, though not found at Karnbrê, yet found in England (XIX, 22,—see the plate, fig. 8), which is an imitation of the staters of Philip II, before mentioned.

The workmanship of Class 3, *i. e.* of cognate specimens, is very good; for though the dress of the heads is fantastic, and the horses are of a grotesque form, all parts are well wrought, denoting an artist who could have executed with facility superior designs.

The accumulation of this treasure can only be accounted for, from the existence of the trade in metals in Britain in ancient times, and from Karnbrè not being very remote from the tin mines. The ancient Dumnonii, it would seem from this, were accustomed to receive gold for tin; and receiving it by weight, in ring-money or otherwise, may have practised coinage, and reduced it to medallie currency. This seems more obvious, than to suppose the gold taken from their enemies: there being a source of wealth, a means of acquiring gold from the sale of the produce of their mines so close at hand.

An objection may be raised, that as there is known to have been a trade for lead and tin with Britain through France by Narbonne (see the former page 13), that this gold may have been paid in coins by Gaulish merchants for tin and lead, and consequently the types be Gaulish. To this it may be replied, Classes 1 and 2 appear to be unknown in France;¹ nor do we possess certain information that Class 3 is found there, more than extremely rarely.

There seems every reason to suppose that the Karnbrè deposit was a hoard, properly speaking, and not placed where it was found in the celebration of funereal rites. The possessor, it may be considered, had concealed it in the earth of a tumulus, thinking that such might be a spot not likely to be violated. However, Borlase gives no account in what parts of the tumuli the two deposits were found.

Next comes the inquiry, not without some trifling moment, as to our British numismatics. Were there then no other types circulating in Britain,—brought by merchants, or coined in the country, at this era B.C. 150,—besides Classes 1, 2, 3, and the type mentioned before, Borlase's XIX, 17, which could be obtained by the hoarder of these coins in return for his tin and lead? We should be unwilling to answer this question in the negative; since the owner, who seems to have been inclined to confine his col-

¹ A single specimen of Class 2, found in Normandy, is engraved in Lambert, pl. VI, fig. 9.

lection to national coins, may have extended his predilection to particular types.

Another question also arises as to matters of art. Regarding the workmanship of the class No. 3, as well as that of the mythological or symbolical coinage of central Gaul; who were the artists by whom the dies were executed? As to this point, it cannot be supposed for a moment, that the said coinage of central Gaul,—such coins as are delineated in Lambert's plates II, III, IV, V, VI, and XI, second number,—could have been produced by native Gaulish artists. Though there is a certain wildness in the style of representation, yet it is evident an accomplished artist would have been required for those designs, as frequently minute details are elaborately wrought, and there is a regularity of execution in the various types which shews the practised artist: therefore, they were Greek or Roman artists who executed these coins; and, undoubtedly, prisoners whom the Gauls brought away from Greece or Italy.

But the head which forms the obverse of the types cognate with Class 3, of which Mr. Crafter's is one, is very finely wrought, as is evident from all specimens which come to light. If, then, Class 3 were minted in Britain, as there seems some sort of reason for supposing, Cunobeline was not the first who introduced Roman or Grecian artists; but they were brought over here much earlier than has been usually credited.

We may now briefly recapitulate, that if we have an ancient British mythological or symbolical coinage, it principally consists in these two series,—that is, the Karnbrê coinage, Class 3, in its various types; and its subordinates, Classes 1 and 2; and, secondly, in the uniface coins of the disjointed horse, which are common to Britain and Belgium. There are also to be added some few types mentioned before at vol. ii of the *Journal*, pages 18 and 19. These, however, are single and unconnected types, and not of the general character of the two foregoing.

The occurrence of an early British coinage among the Dumnonii is by no means incredible. Where would be more likely for a coinage to appear than where there was an abundance of metals, which, by the sale of them, produced a great profit? The Dumnonii seem to have been

always a powerful British state; and whether or not the Trinobantes and Cassii were powerful at the date of B.C. 150, they might have not possessed commodities which they could have exchanged for the precious metals. Indeed, if we may indulge in conjecture, we may form the supposition that the Trinobantine coinage did not begin till the Cassii and Trinobantes had united, and had subdued the Dobuni, Cornavii, Silures, Attrebates, Segontiaci, and other states westward, and thus had become themselves possessed of extensive mining districts: and this probably did not take place till the reign of Cunobeline, or near his time.

The question, however, of the date of these coins requires a few words separately. Premising that it seems preferable not to refer these types to the kings of the Trinobantine line, or the other rulers of ancient Britain, but principally to those of the Dumnonii, or inhabitants of Cornwall and Devonshire, we seem to have no other materials for forming an opinion than the following suggestions:—

I. As the Karnbrê types are imitations, more or less degenerated through numerous intermediate gradations, in a long series from the “type muet” of central France, which originated about B.C. 305, it can hardly be thought to have reached its ultimate state of degeneracy till about B.C. 150.

II. As again, there were no coins of Cunobeline and none of Comius in this hoard,—in fact, no inscribed types at all,—we may strongly entertain the presumption, that a later date could not belong to them than B.C. 75.

Of the two dates thus offered, the earliest on the whole at present seems preferable; and as there is an absence of types which can be identified with Gaul, the animus of the person who deposited the hoard seems to have been to collect his wealth in the coin struck in the country.

Doubtful opinions might be given on some other points connected with this singular discovery at Karnbrê. However, we may now pass on to what may seem of greater importance, a chronological summary of the Gaulish and British coinages, which seems required as a conclusion to the foregoing remarks.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BRITISH AND GAULISH COINAGES.

About B.C. 600, the Phocæans colonized Marseilles; subsequent to which, coins of Marseilles make their appearance. Their type being that of human heads, birds, beasts, etc., and afterwards the wheel with four spokes, and other delineations.

About B.C. 335, didrachmas and staters of Macedonia imitated in Gaul.

About B.C. 305, the mythological type of central Gaul began to be adopted.

About B.C. 260, various Celtic and druidical emblems were added.

About B.C. 160, ditto; and many devices of the coins of Italy—as androcephalous horses, sceptres, hands, pateras, etc., delineated upon them.

About B.C. 60, ditto; and types introduced which more particularly belonged to Rome. At this time the coins of the Gaulish chiefs begin to abound.

Era uncertain,—but supposed to be within the limits between B.C. 150 and B.C. 75,—the Karnbrê coinage circulates in Britain; and, contemporaneously, a rude uninscribed uniface coinage, of the type of the disjointed horse, a degenerated imitation of the coinage of central Gaul, is in use in Britain and Belgium.

About B.C. 45, coins of Comius, semi-Gaulish, and semi-British, appear.

B.C. 27, Augustus having re-organized the Gaulish provinces, the Gaulish coinage ceases, and only colonial coins of Gaul appear.

About B.C. 13 to A.D. 41, coins of Cunobeline abound in Britain; and about the same period, those of the Iceni, and those of the Brigantes.

A.D. 41 to 44, the coinage of the sons of Cunobeline struck during this period; also, coins bearing the designations of various states in Britain,—as the Catieuchlani, Cangi, Coritani, Attrebates, and Boduni. These last apparently exhibiting a return to more ancient Celtic types.

A.D. 71, coins of the Brigantes cease on the partial conquest of that British state by Petilius Cerealis, the Roman

commander; or, possibly, a few years afterwards, when they were finally conquered by Agricola.

BEALE POSTE.

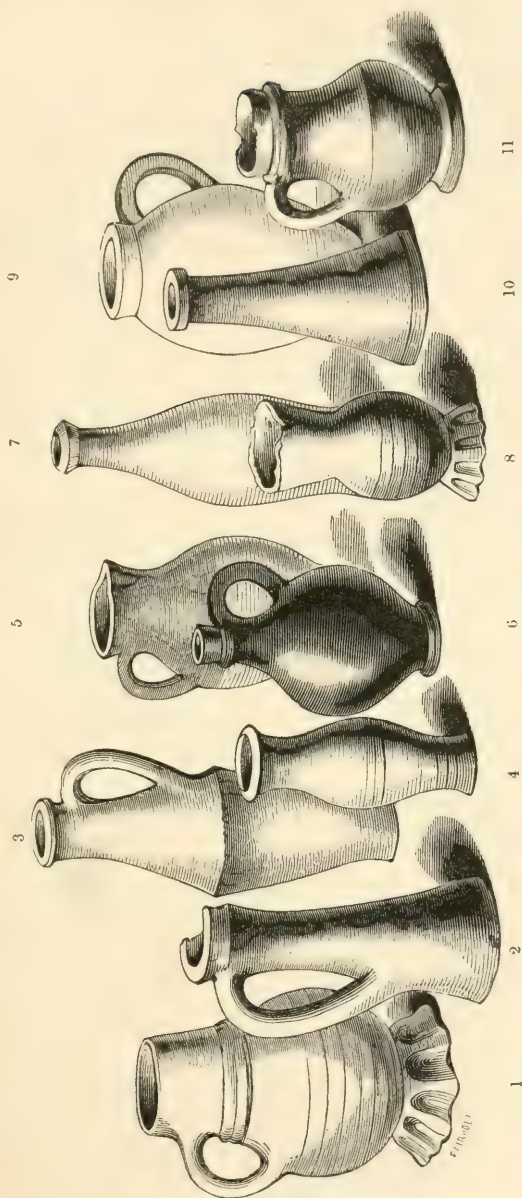
NOTE.—The wood-cuts at the following pages are engraved as under. Those at pp. 7, 8, 9, from the originals in the British Museum. The second, at p. 9, and those at pp. 10, 11, from M. Lambert's *Numismatique du Nord-Ouest de la France*, 4to, 1844, plates II, 8; III, 17; IV, 14. The second, at p. 11, from M. Dronet's plate, fig. 3, in his essay, *Des Types les plus habituels des Médailles Gauloises*, 8vo, 1843.

The coins in the plate, fig. 1, from Mr. Crafter's coin; fig. 2, from M. Lelewel's work, VIII, 23; fig. 5, from a coin in the British Museum; the rest from plate XIX of Dr. Borlase's work, or XXIII of the 2nd edition.

ON MIEVEAL EARTHENWARE VESSELS.

ILLUSTRATED BY SPECIMENS DISCOVERED IN THE METROPOLIS, IN
THE POSSESSION OF W. CHAFFERS, JUN., F.S.A.

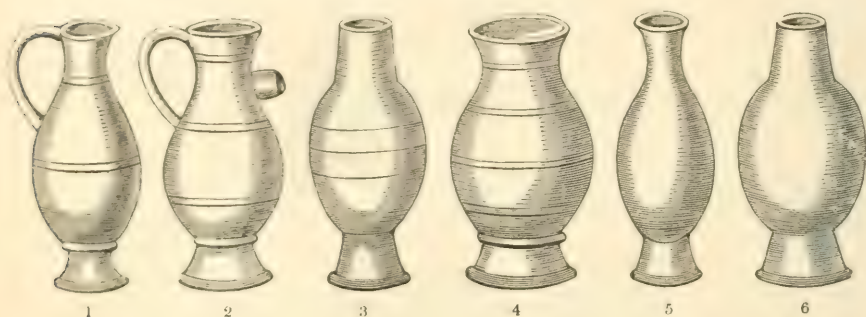
My object in addressing the British Archæological Association on this occasion is, to endeavour to clear up a portion of the mystery which has hitherto enveloped the subject of medieval earthenware vessels. It must be remarked, that we are to consider these vessels merely in regard to their utility and domestic economy, and not to their elegance of form, or fineness of material, for in those respects they present a lamentable decline from the Greek and Roman periods, when even vessels of the coarsest clay had a pleasing effect: I do not, therefore, speak of them as works of art, but as of homely manufacture and domestic use, which, from their fragile nature, and comparative insignificance as to value, have, in few instances, withstood the shock of time, or been thought worthy of preservation. These fictile vessels are extremely rare, and it is a matter of considerable difficulty to appropriate them to their particular era. It is only by exhibiting and comparing specimens, that we are likely to arrive



1. A wide-mouthed jug of brown earth, glazed all over, the foot ornamented with indentations—6 inches high.
2. Jug of reddish brown earth, of rude manufacture, unglazed—6 inches high.
3. Jug of yellow clay, glaze of the same colour on the upper part—8 inches high.
4. Pot of reddish earth, unglazed—5 inches high.
5. Jug of light-coloured clay, glazed on the upper part—6 inches high.
6. Bottle of slate-coloured glaze—5½ in. high.
7. Pot of red earth, unglazed—7 inches high.
8. Pot of yellowish earth—5 inches high.
9. Jug of cream-coloured clay, yellow glaze, mottled with green on the upper part—6 inches high.
10. Straight-sided vessel of yellow earth, slightly glazed—6 inches high.
11. Jug of yellowish clay, with green glaze on the upper portion—5 inches high.

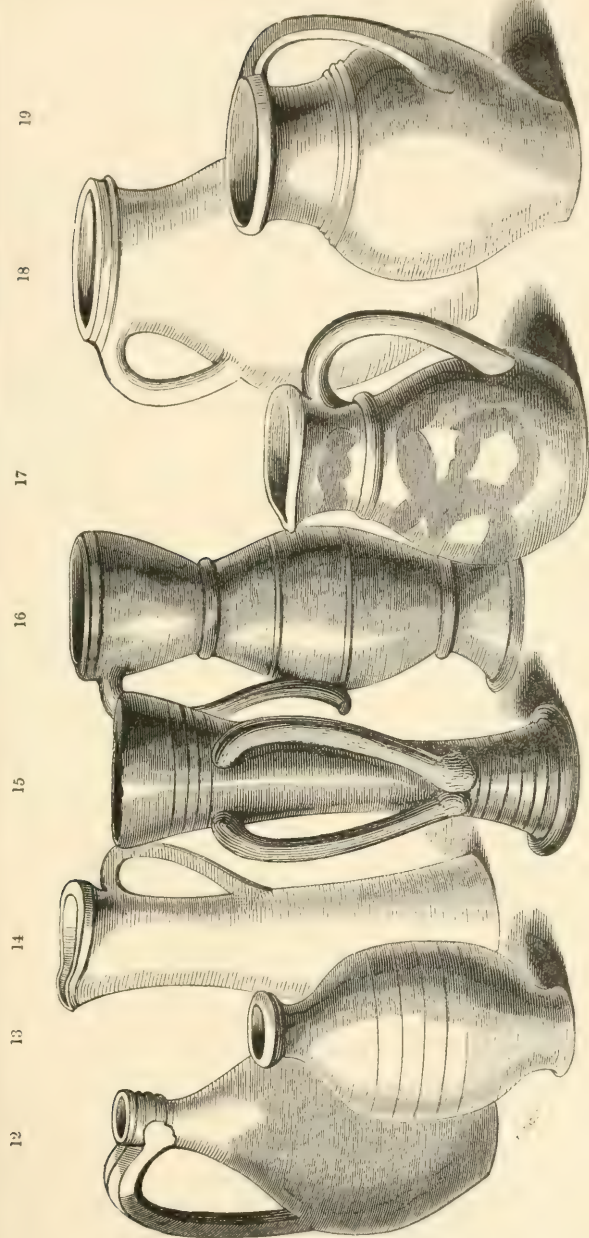
at any satisfactory result; and my hope is, that many of our members may be induced to bring forward similar collections, and favour us with their opinions respecting them.

As a reference to the Norman and early English manuscripts will materially assist us in our inquiries, I have selected a few of the more striking forms of Norman earthen cups from various manuscripts;¹ which, by comparison with many of those now exhibited to the Association, will enable us to identify them as belonging to that period.



A point that requires investigation, is the glazing on these vessels, and when it is probable this mode of application, either as a means of decoration or utility, was revived, if it were ever entirely lost? I am inclined to think it was not. The green glaze appears to me to have been intended more for use than ornament, as it seldom covers the entire surface of the vessel, but only round the inside of the lip and upper portion of the exterior, where the liquids would come in immediate contact, or might be spilt over; I do not imagine this could result from accident or decay. Imperfections or blemishes in the ware are generally covered over with a spot of glaze. The specimen exhibited by Mr. Kirkmann (*vide Journal*, vol. iii, page 63) is glazed all over; but that described by Mr. Lower, of a knight on horseback, discovered at Lewes (*Journal*, vol. ii, page 343), is only partially glazed, as are most of those of the same class in my own collection. I think we may fairly infer from these two last-named speci-

¹ Strutt's "Horda Ang."



- 12 Pitcher, with narrow neck, the lower part coloured black, above of yellow green glaze—holds three quarts.
- 13 Vase of light-brown earth, unglazed—8 in. h.
- 14 Early unglazed jug, with straight sides, of cream-coloured earth, holds three pints—11 inches high.
- 15 Ale pot, covered with black glaze, having two handles, placed close to each other for the convenience of passing round a table, holds about a quart—11½ inches high.
- 16 Vessel of Norman form, covered entirely with black glaze—11½ inches high.
- 17 Jug of reddish brown earth, and dark green glaze, with touches of yellow, partially applied in a wavy or festoon pattern—7½ inches high.
- 18 Large water pitcher of brown clay, unglazed, holds ten pints—10½ inches high.
- 19 Pitcher of brown earth, unglazed, holds a quart—8 inches high.

mens (the costume and general character enabling us to appropriate them), that this green glazing was applied to vessels before the thirteenth century, of which date I imagine that belonging to Mr. Kirkmann to be; the Lewes horseman I should consider earlier. This is a great point gained, as it has been generally supposed the green glazing denoted a much more recent manufacture.

I have been often surprised at the great depth at which these fictile vessels with a light green mottled glaze have been found in excavations, and have always considered them ancient; in some instances they have been discovered mixed with Roman remains. This water-pitcher, with

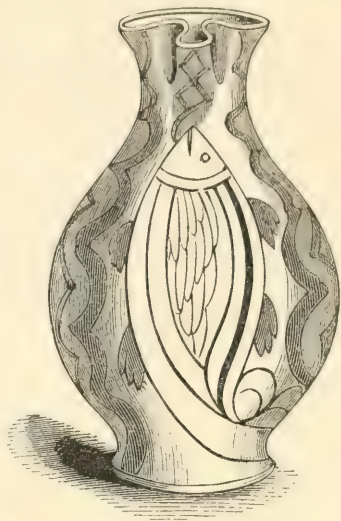


mottled green glaze on the upper part, is ten inches high, and was discovered (to my own knowledge) at a depth of twelve or fourteen feet, in Queen-street, Cheapside, in August 1842. Vessels of similar form are represented in an illuminated manuscript of the eleventh century (Cotton MSS., Nero, C. iv), where servants are taking pitchers from the cupboard, filling them with water, and carrying them to the Saviour, to be changed into wine, at the marriage at Cana, al-

though, I consider this vessel may probably be still more ancient. Mr. Wellbeloved, in his *Eburacum*, says, that with undoubted remains of Roman earthenware he frequently found fragments and entire vessels of a coarse sort, generally of a yellowish white clay, with a strong glaze of various shades of green, and adduces several instances; he states, that at Carlisle, fifteen feet below the surface, and beneath several fragments of Samian ware, were discovered two ancient pitchers, which inclined him to regard them as the work of Roman potters. Without admitting these pitchers to be Roman,—these circumstances tend to prove the great antiquity of the particular sort of glazing in question, and that it was used much earlier than has been supposed,—I think it not improbable

that it was applied at intervals, more or less, from the Roman period downwards.

An Etruscan or Roman lagena in my possession, with one handle, is evidence in favour of my opinion. The mouth of this jug is pinched at the sides into the shape of a leaf, forming a spout for the liquor to be poured off in a small stream; the front is ornamented by lines (cut with some sharp instrument), representing a fish, the fins of which are coloured with a green glaze, as also the lip and the wavy pattern which runs down from the top to the bottom; the ground is of a black glaze. This is by no means an uncommon occurrence, as I have other specimens. A Roman cinerary urn, found in Queen-street, Cheapside, in 1842, has on the inner



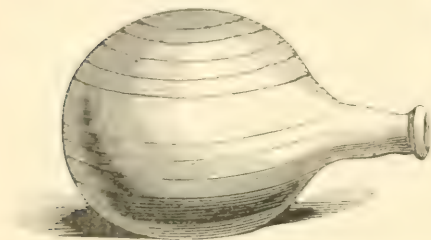
surface of the mouth a green glaze, and a spot or two on the exterior surface, as though some had been accidentally spilt; and a Roman lamp, the inner part of which is evenly and brilliantly glazed of a green colour, the outside having been so originally, but now partially rubbed off. To the latter two it may be urged, that this appearance was the result of vitrification, caused by intense heat; and such may perhaps have been the fact: but the jug is more conclusive, as it is very improbable (even supposing it to have been subjected to a great heat) that it should be coloured in a pattern as I have described it.

The gourd, pumpkin, cocoa-nut, and other fruits with a hard rind or shell, were undoubtedly the most primitive vessels, being naturally formed ready for use; and most of the forms of the fictile ware are derivable from this source. It would be an interesting task to pursue this subject further; I think we should invariably find, that in those countries where a particular fruit was most abundant, the fictile vessels would partake of its figure and ornamentation. The gourd and cocoa-nut were in common use in

England; there are frequent allusions to them. "A standing gilt nutt" is mentioned in the will of sir Thomas Lytton, A.D. 1480; and in various inventories of Wolsey, queen Elizabeth, etc. In Chaucer (*Canterbury Tales*), the manciple says to the cook:

"I have here in my *gourd* a draught of win."

The annexed cut represents a gourd-shaped bottle of brown earth, unglazed; perhaps, a *costril*, used to carry liquids by travellers; it is slightly flattened on one of its sides to prevent its rolling, but cannot be placed in an upright position.



The pomegranate and pine-apple were favourite subjects of imitation for cups; many of which, from their expensive workmanship, have withstood the general wreck consequent upon the change of fashion. The following is a description of one presented to queen Elizabeth: "A cuppe of silver guilt, shutting and opening in the midst, pomegranate fashion, the handle being a wheat care." In like manner, other natural productions, such as horns of beasts, eggs of ostriches, shells, etc, were formed into drinking-cups, and were the types of earthenware vessels, which partook of their form more or less.

From recent examinations of Saxon graves, since the establishment of the British Archæological Association, by our noble President and many of our associates, much valuable information has been gained for the historian and antiquary with regard to their manners and customs. The earthen vessels which have been discovered are generally of a very rude character, with some few exceptions; but this is not the case with the glass cups, which possess a degree of elegance in their form and design. Mr. Rolfe has one in his possession, discovered in a Saxon grave near Ramsgate;¹ and a similar specimen was found by Mr. Dennett, in the Isle of Wight.² One peculiarity of these

¹ "Archæological Album", by Thos. Wright, esq., p. 207.

² Transactions of Brit. Arch. Assoc. at the Winchester Congress. p. 152.

glasses, is, that they cannot be placed upright upon the table, but must be held in the hand until emptied of their contents: they seem to partake of the character of the horn, in their elongated and pointed form.

The descriptive notices of earthenware vessels by which they can be identified, or from which we can ascertain the name any particular form was designated by, are very scanty. Earthen bowls and dishes were, no doubt, common; but we rarely meet with notices of them; as from their comparative insignificance, they were seldom enumerated or described in inventories. Bowls are frequently alluded to without mentioning the material of which they were made. There are abundant notices of wooden bowls or mazers, under which head we shall again revert to them. Earthen pitchers and pots were in very general use amongst all classes during the middle ages.

In the payments of the executors of Eleanor, wife of Edward I, in the thirteenth century, is the following entry:—"Item, Julianæ *La Potere*, pro ccc. *picheriis* viijs. vid." And in the same document we have a record of the payment: "Item, Johanni *Le Squeler*,¹ pro M^{te}. et D. discis, tot platellis, tot salseriis, et cccc. *chiphis*. xlijs." And in the expenses of sir John Howard, 1466, is this memorandum: "Wateken bocher of Stoke delyverd of my mony to on of the *poteres* of Horkesley ivs. vid. to pay hemeselfe and is felawes for xi dosen potes."²

The household book of the earl of Northumberland, in 1512, gives us a pretty correct idea of the manner of living at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which, for such a noble family, astonishes us at the humble and unostentatious display made at the table; hence, it appears that *treen*, or wooden trenchers and pots of earth, were commonly used at the tables of the dependents. The former were not easily to be broken; but the case was different with the earthen pots, which, from their fragile nature, were, it seems, a continual source of expense: it was therefore ordered, that—"Whereas *erthyn potts* be bought, that

¹ The *squeler* was a seller of *esqueles*, from the French word *écuelle*, a porringer, dish, or basin. Hence, the department in large establishments where

these vessels were kept and cleaned was termed a *squelery*.

² "Manners and Household Expenses of England".

ledder potts be bought for them for serving for lyveries and meallys in my lord's hous."

Harrison,¹ who wrote about the year 1579, gives us an account of the earthen pots which were in use in his time; he says—"As for drinke, it is usually filled in pots, goblets, jugs, bols of silver in noblemen's houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all forms, and for want of these elsewhere in *pots of earth* of sundrie colours and moulds, whereof many are garnished with silver, or at the leastwise in pewter."

In the books of the Drapers' Company,² there is a description of an election feast in the year 1522, which, after describing the order in which they sate, and other matters, goes on to inform us, that—"At the said high board, were salvers of bread, pears, and filberds, placed upon the tables before they sat down; as also *green pots* of ale and wine, with ashen cups set before them at every mess; but they had gilt cups for red wine and ipocras." The green pots here mentioned were doubtless earthenware pitchers, ornamented by a green glaze.

More than a century afterwards (29th October 1663), Pepys, in his *Diary*,—being present at the lord mayor's dinner,—says: "I sat at the merchant strangers table, where ten good dishes to a mess, with plenty of wine of all sorts; but it was very displeasing that we had no napkins nor change of trenchers, and drunk out of earthen pitchers and wooden dishes."

From these quotations, it appears probable that pitchers and large pots were usually made of earth or leather; while the cups or dishes, out of which the liquor was drunk, were of ash; or sometimes, among the more opulent, from cups or tankards of silver.

"His cupboard's head six earthen pitchers graced,

Beneath them was his trusty tankard placed."—*Dryden's Juv.*

In glancing over my own collection, I find there are comparatively few specimens of small drinking cups, or dishes; while, on the other hand, I possess a great number of earthenware pots and pitchers.

In the orders and regulations for the royal household of

¹ "Description of England", book II, cap. 6.

² Herbert, vol. i, page 442.

Edward IV,¹ "The orders for the picher house" are—"The butler *for the mouthe* delyverythe nightly, at the buttery barre for the kynge for *all nyght*; with the ale in *new ashen cuppes*, and two other for the watche, which of ryghte should be delyveryd againe at the cupbourde in the mornynge, *with the pottes* to serve men of worshippe in the halle; when other men of worshippe bring to this office theyre old soyled *cuppes of ayshe*, to have new." And again, in the expenses of sir John Howard,² in the fifteenth century: "Item, paid to a nother *turnere* for ijc. drynkyng bolles, viijs."

The *cruskyn*, or *cruske*,—called also *cruce*, *creuse*, and *croise*,—was a drinking cup of earth. Roquefort thus gives the signification of the old French word, "Creusequin.—Coupe, gobelet, vaisseau servant à boire." The *cruskyn* of earth is frequently mentioned in inventories of the fourteenth century; thus, in the Kalendar of the Exchequer, 1324,—"*Un crusekyn de terre garni d'argent, a covercle souz dorrez od iiij escuchions as costes de divers armes du pris, viijs.*"³ "*Un cruskyn de terre blank hernoisiez d'argent endorrez ove covercle enbatell, enaymellez dedeins ove j babewyn pois ij lb.*"⁴ In a manuscript in the possession of sir Thomas Phillipps, we have also a little *cruskyn* of earth, with the foot and cover gilt and enamelled; and a pot of silver, "*au guyse d'un cruskyn.*"

The same word is still used in Ireland to denote a small pot or cup, thus—"a *cruiskeen* of whiskey." In O'Brien's *Irish Dictionary*, the word is rendered "a small pot or pitcher", *een* being the Irish diminutive; hence, a small *cruisk* or *cruske*. The final syllable was omitted subsequently, and it was called a *cruce*.

"They had sucked such a juce
Out of the good ale cruce,
Wherein they found no dregges,
That neyther of them his hed
Could carry home to his bed
For lack of better legges."—*The Unluckie Firmentie.*

The modern French word *cruche*, comprises all earthen-

¹ "Liber Niger", page 78.

³ "Kal. Exch." vol. iii, 128.

² "Manners and Expenses of England", p. 527.

⁴ Ib. iii, 319.

ware pitchers and jugs. The *crocke* was larger than the cruce. It is spelt *crokke* in *Piers Ploughman*;¹ and Chaucer thus uses the word:²

“And whan that dronken was all in the *crouke*.”

The *godet* was, according to Cotman, “an earthen bole, a stone cup or jug”; it seems to have been a small earthenware cup or tankard. The calix of a flower is called in the French language, *godet*. The name occurs in several inventories of the fourteenth century. Among the stores for the king’s ship, *The George*, in 1345, is an entry for nine *godettes*, called “flegghes”, vs. *ijjd.*; and a large *godett* for the king, *xijd.*³

As the records we have of them generally describe them as made of silver, I shall reserve any further description of them until we treat of silver vessels. It was in succeeding times called a *goddard*. Stowe, speaking of “Mount Goddard-street, in Ivie-lane”, says, “it was so called of the tippling there; and the Goddards mounting from the tappe to the table, from the table to the mouth, and sometimes over the head.” Gayton⁴ mentions—

“A goddard or anniversary spice bowl
Drank off by the gossips.”

Florio (page 80) has “a wooden *godet* or tankard”; and the following quotation (*temp.* Henry VI) shows it partook of the form of the wooden mazer: “Also ij *litol masers* called *godardes* covered, and another *litol maser* uncovered.”⁵

The *costrel* was a closed portable vessel or flask of earth or of wood, having projections on either side, with holes, through which a cord or leathern strap passed, for the purpose of suspending it from the neck of the person who carried it. It is spelt *costret* in MS. Lansd. 560, fol. 45; also, in Richard Cœur de Lion.⁶

“Now steward, I warn thee,
Buy us vessel great plenté,
Dishes, cuppes and saucers,
Bowls, trays and platters,
Vats, tuns and *costret*.”

¹ Vision, line 13516.

² Reeves' Tale, line 4156.

³ Sir H. Nicolas' "History of the British Navy", vol. ii, 173.

⁴ Festivous Notes on Don Quixote.

⁵ Kal. Exch. vol. ii, p. 251.

⁶ Ellis, Met. Rom., 300.

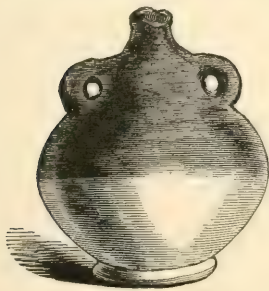
It is derived from the old French word *costeret*, from its being carried by the side; it was probably a measure or allowance of beer carried by a traveller, or given to a working man for the day. A very early specimen of such a vessel I now exhibit; it has been originally covered with a bright red glaze, variegated with white streaks, and has on each side two projections, and holes for its suspension, by means of a leather strap or cord; it holds a pint, and is eleven inches high.

The other cut represents a variety not quite so early; the upper part of it is covered with a green glaze; it also contains a pint. These were carried by pilgrims, travellers, and shepherds, pendent by their side along with the scrip:



“A bolle and a bagge
He bar by his syde,
And hundred of ampulles¹
On his hat seten.”—*Piers Ploughman*.

Sometimes it was carried at the end of the bourdon, or staff, which had crooks to receive them. I remember to have seen the labourer in the west of England carry a somewhat similar earthen vessel, suspended by a string to a stick carried over his shoulder, in company with his “nammit bag”, or allowance of provisions for the day. The wooden barrel which the labourer carries with him when he goes to work, is called at the present day in the Craven dialect, a *costril*.



The *jubbe*, spoken of by Chaucer, was a sort of jug, which held about a quart or more:

“With bred and chese and good ale in a *jubbe*,
Sufficing right ynow as for a day.”²

¹ The ampulles were small oblong vessels of glass, carried by pilgrims in the middle ages; sewn to the hat and

other parts of their dress, in token of having visited some particular shrine.

² Chaucer, line 3628.

Again :

“ A jubbe of Malvesie.”¹

The *juste*, according to Roquefort, was a vase, pot, or a sort of measure for wine:—they were sometimes of earth; but more frequently of silver; sometimes of gold. In the Kalendar of the Échequer, *temp.* Henry IV: “ Item, j autre *joust* d’argent enorrez ove les scochons des diverses armes ove botons de curall et cristall ove une covercle rouge sur le sunet.”² And in an inventory of Charles V of France, A.D. 1379, under the head of “Golden vessels”, we have—“Six grandes *justes* à un email rond de France, cxxviii marcs.”

Oriental porcelain was known in Europe at a very early period: the first positive mention we have of it, occurs in an inventory of effects of the queen of Charles Le Bel, king of France, who died 1370: “Item, un pot à eau de pierre de *porcelaine*, à un couvercle d’argent et bordé d’argent doré, pesant j marc, iiij ounces, xvij estellins, prisié xiiij fr. d’or.” Although we have so early a record of it in France, I am not aware of its being noticed in England earlier than the reign of Henry VIII; at least, not so as to be identified.

Among the original letters edited by sir Henry Ellis,³ we read of a present of “iiij potts of erthe payntid callyd *porceland*.” It is also distinctly spoken of in 1587, as a present to queen Elizabeth, mounted in silver and gold: “Item, one cup of grene *pursselyne*, the foote, shanke, and cover, silver guilte, chased like droppes.” “Item, one cup of *pursselyne* th’one side paynted red, the foote and cover silver guilte.” “Item, one porrynger of white *porselyn*, garnished with golde, the cover of golde, with a lyon on the toppe thereof, 38 oz.”

It was, doubtless, at this time much esteemed, on account of its scarcity; and this may, I think, be inferred from Shakespeare’s allusion to it,⁴—“Your honours have seen such dishes; they are not *china dishes*, but very good dishes.”

It did not at this time come direct from the East Indies, but from Venice. “China mettall” is described in Min-

¹ Chaucer, line 13000.

² “Kal. Exch.” ii, 86.

³ Vol. ii, p. 242.

⁴ “Meas. for Meas.”, act ii, sc. 2.

shen's *Spanish Dialogues*, as "the fine dishes of earth, painted, such as are brought from Venice." China ware was not generally imported until 1631, when the East India ships made it an article of commerce; shortly after which, a heavy duty was laid upon it by Cromwell,—viz., twenty shillings on every dozen under a quart, and sixty shillings on those of a quart and upwards.

Ben Jonson¹ says : "Ay, sir ! his wife was the rich China-woman, that the courtiers visited so often." In his time the China trade had not been long opened, and "China houses" were much resorted to, for the purpose of purchasing the ware for presents; they are also frequently mentioned by writers of the time as places of assignation.

The following vessels, from an inventory of the jewels, etc., in the Castle of Edinburgh, 1578, were probably China ware. The Anglo-Saxon word *Lame* or *Laim*, signifying *loam*, *mud*, or *clay*. "Twa flaconis of *layme* anamalit with blew and quheit, and ane all blew." And in another account of the queen of Scot's "moveables" under "vesshelis of glasse", 1562 : "Item, a figure of ane doig maid in quhite *laym*." "i basing and lair with aipis wormes and serpents." "One lawer with a cowp and a cover of copper enamallit."

The *Bellarmino*, or *long-beard*, here represented, was a description of jug of stone ware, which being of peculiar ornament and form, has misled many from its antique appearance. One was engraved a short time since in the *Illustrated London News*, and attributed to the Saxon era. This vessel, which from the reasons below stated, I have called the *Bellarmino*, was a stone pot or jug, with a wide spreading belly, and a narrow neck; on the top of which was represented



¹ "Silent Woman", act i, sc. 1.

a rudely executed face, with a long flowing beard, and a handle behind. The belly in front was ornamented with a device, or a coat of arms of some town in Holland, or Germany; sometimes only a crest. They are of a mottled brown colour, glazed all over, and being of stout substance and hard texture, are exceedingly durable.

These vessels were in very general use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at public-houses and inns, to serve ale to the customers. I have some of all sizes: the largest, or "Galonier", twelve inches high, contains eight pints; the next, or "Pottle-pot", about nine inches and a half high, holds four pints; another, eight inches and a half high, a quart; and the smallest, six inches in height, one pint. This specimen (a pottle-pot) bears a shield quartered, with the arms of Cleves, March, Ravensburg, and Mœurs. J. R. Planché, esq., to whom I am indebted for the information concerning the heraldic bearings, adds,—"The countess of Mœurs died in 1600, and the county was seized by the elector of Brandenburg; the elector palatine at the same time quartering the arms to shew his pretensions to it. The fief escheated to the duke of Cleves; the arms were properly, *or*, a fess *sable*. The above would be 1 and 3, Mœurs; 2, Cleves; 4, March; 5, Ravensburg." One of these vessels bears the date 1589, struck upon it above a coat of arms; another, which was in the possession of the late Mr. Kempe, had a venerable bearded visage, and underneath a shield (which bore on a pale three mascles) was the date 1594. An interesting fact connected with this, was its being found on the site of the Old Boar's-Head Tavern, in Eastcheap. Some have the arms of Amsterdam,—*gules*, on a pale; *or*, a pale *sable*; charged with three saltiers, *argent*,—others of Prussia, Germany, etc. They are frequently alluded to in old plays; and the following description can leave no doubt as to its identity; and will, I think, justify me in christening it anew, as I have done. It occurs in the *Ordinary*, act iii, scene 3:

"Thou thing,

Thy belly looks like to some strutting hill,
Overshadowed with thy rough beard like a wood:
Or like a larger jug, that some men call
A *Bellarmine*, but we a *Conscience*;

Whereon the lewder hand of pagan workman
Over the proud ambitious head hath carved
An idol large, with beard episcopal,
Making the vessel look like tyrant Eglon."

Another passage in the same play again alludes to this jug; where a man, after having partaken rather too freely of its contents the night before, is advised thus in the following couplet:

"First to breakfast, then to dine,
Is to conquer Bellarmine."

Meaning, that the effects of the previous evening's potations and excesses are not dissipated until after a breakfast and a good dinner.

In *Epsom Wells* (act iv, sc. 1), Clodpate, after pushing about the cups of true English ale, says: "Uds bud, my head begins to turn round; but let's into the house. 'Tis dark, we'll have one *Bellarmino* there, and then Bonus Nocius."

This jug was so named after the celebrated cardinal, Robert Bellarmine, who about that time made himself so conspicuous by his zealous opposition to the reformed religion. He was born A.D. 1542, and died 1621. He was sent into the Low Countries to oppose the progress of the reformers, and he consequently received his share of hatred and derision from the Protestants, and there were few men of talent who did not enter the lists against him. The controversy was maintained with great vigour, and its rancour was manifested by satirical allusions, like this of the bottle. His biographer Fuligati says, "he was very short of stature and hard-featured", and that "his soul was conspicuous in every feature of his face." If we can in any way rely upon the portraits of him thus handed down to posterity, he must indeed have been exceedingly hard-featured.

Ben Jonson, in *Bartholomew Fair* (act iv, sc. 3), says of a man who was overcome with liquor: "He hash wrashed so long with the bottle here, that *the man with the beard* hash almosht streek up hish heelsh"; and to the same vessel he also compares a host in the *New Inn*:

"Who's at the best, some round grown thing *a jug*
Fac'd with a beard, that fills out to the guests."

In the *Gipsies Metamorphosed*, the same author gives the following humorous derivation of the form of these stone jugs. In the *induction*, one of the gipsies thus apostrophizes the audience: "Gaze upon this brave spark struck out of Flintshire, upon Justice Jug's daughter, then sheriff of the county, who running away with a kinsman of our captain's, and her father pursuing her to the marches, he great with justice, she great with jugling, they were both for the time turned stone, upon the sight of each other here in Chester: till at last (see the wonder), a jug of the town ale reconciling them, the memorial of both their gravities,—*his in beard*, and *her's in belly*,—hath remained ever since preserved in picture upon the most stone jugs of the kingdom."

Cartwright also, in the *Lady Errant*, mentions them:

"The greater sort they say
Are like stone pots, with beards that do reach down
Even to their knees."

These passages, which have hitherto appeared obscure to the commentators, are, I think, henceforth easily explained.

I find in the Lansdowne MSS. (108, fol. 60), a letter relating perhaps to them, which, as it seems to me a curious document, and has never before been printed, I have quoted it at length; it is from a person of the name of Simpson, praying he may be allowed the sole importation of stone drinking pots. It is addressed to queen Elizabeth.

"The sewte of William Simpson, marchaunt.—Whereas one Garnet Tynes, a straunger livinge in Acon, in the parte beyond the seas, being none of her ma^{ties} subjecte, doth buy uppe alle the pottes made at Culloin, called *Drinking stone pottes*, and he onelie transporteth them into this realm of England, and selleth them: It may please your ma^{tie} to graunte unto the sayd Simpson full power and onelie license to provyde, transport, and bring into this realm the same or such like drinking pottes; and the sayd Simpson will putt in good suretie that it shall not be prejudiciall to anie of your ma^{ties} subjectes, but that he will serve them as plentifulle, and sell them at as reasonable price as the other hath sold them from tyme to tyme.

“Item. He will be bound to double her mat^{ies} custome by the year, whenever it hath been at the most.

“Item. He will as in him lieth drawe the making of such like potte into some decayed town within this realm, wherebie manie a hundred poore men may be sett a work.

“Note. That no Englishman doth transport any potte into this realm, but onlie the said Garnet Tines; who also serveth all the Lowe Countries and other places with pottes.”

Whether this tempting offer to “double her majesty’s custome by the year, when at the most”, had any effect upon the government, or whether Simpson succeeded in his suit, I cannot tell; or whether any were ever made in England, I have not been able to ascertain. From the quantities which have been found among the *débris* of the great fire of London, and throughout England, it is evident they were in very general use, which their durability and small cost would tend to insure.

WILLIAM CHAFFERS, JUN.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF ISLIP, OXFORDSHIRE.¹

ISLIP (A. S. Githeslepe, the leap of Githa), a village near Oxford, is known in history as the birth-place of Edward the Confessor. This fact rests on the indisputable authority of a charter in MS. Cott. Faust. A. iii, of the thirteenth century, which is evidently copied from a much older original,—“Edward kyng gret Wlsy biscop and Gyrðerle and alle mine theignes on Oxnefordesyre frendlic, and

¹ This paper merely consists of a few notes, collected chiefly from manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, Dean Vincent’s manuscript collections for a history of Islip preserved at the rectory, and the re-

cords belonging to the parish. They will be found to comprise new and curious particulars; but it is unnecessary to say that a connected history has not been attempted.

ich cythe ou that ic habbe gifen Crist and Sainte Petre into Westminstre that cotlif the ic was boren inne, bi naman Githslepe, and ane hyde at Mersee, scot-fre and safol-fre, mid allem wana wugan tha ther-to bilimpað, on wode and on felde, on made and on water, mid chirchen and mid chirche socne, sua ful and swa forð and swa free swa ic it me silfon on hande stod, and swa swa Imme min moder on minre firmbirde dawe tofor me gife it me saef, and to gekinde biquath," etc. No memorial of the pious sovereign remains at Islip. A font is preserved in the rectory garden, in which he is said to have been baptized; but, unfortunately for the credit of tradition, its character precludes the supposition of its being of an earlier date than the fourteenth century. In 1009, king Ethelred kept the greatest part of his residence in Oxfordshire, chiefly at Hedington and Islip.—See Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, ed. 1818, i, 62.

At an earlier period, there was certainly a Roman station at Islip, and traces of it may still be seen in a field near the manor-house, which tradition erroneously assigns to the site of king Edward's palace. According, however, to Mr. Dunkin (*Oxfordshire*, i, 278), this was the site of the mansion-house erected by abbot Curtlington, about 1320; and about 1720, many loads of lead were dug up, in irregular masses, as if melted, in the remains of a moat in the field. Roman coins and pottery have formerly been found in the fields near Wood-hill, on the other side of the village. In fact, broken Roman pottery is sufficiently common there at this day, though coins are not very frequently discovered.¹

Plot describes two coins found at this place in 1676. One is a coin of Cunobeline, struck at Camulodunum. Obverse, a horse prancing; above, a branch or ear of corn, CVNO. Reverse, an ear of corn, and across the field, CAMV;

¹ "The Roman coins found here are a much better evidence of a Roman camp: they have been found at all times, and are still found, as I learn from Mr. Weyland. The hill itself is admirably adapted to a camp: it stands clear and uncommanded, declining gently north and south, and sloping eastward towards Otmoor, where there are still the remains of a Roman road,

and westward to the Charwell, but I see no remains of foss or dyke, or anything that intimates fortification: perhaps it was within reach of protection from Bicester, Alchester, and Chester-ton, all within the distance of six or seven miles, evidently Roman camps upon the Akeman-street, with which the road across Otmoor had a direct communication."—Dean Vincent's MSS.

the second letter being formed like the Greek Δ. The other is one of those peculiar small coins common to Germany, France, and England; and of which, several picked up at Bognor, co. Sussex, are figured in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*.—See Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, 1677, p. 309.

We have seen from the charter above quoted, that the Confessor, when he founded the monastery of St. Peter at Westminster, gave the village of Islip, or Githslepe, to that institution. After the Norman conquest, however, king William seized the estate, and bestowed it upon Hugh de Grentmainsnil. (*Guide to Arch. Antiq.* i, 6.) This warrior gave it, as a marriage portion, to his daughter Adeline, the wife of Roger de Ivery. “Unum molendinum in villa quæ dicitur Heslepe”, is mentioned in a charter, *temp.* Henrici Secundi, as “ex dono Adelinae uxoris Rogeri de Ivereyo”. (*Monast. Anglic.* ii, 954.) Roger de Ivery, dying about the year 1079, Adeline held Islip in dowry by inheritance from her father. This Adeline, in the year 1111, lay in her house at Fencot very ill, and gave a hide of land in Fencot to the monks of Abingdon, to pray for her recovery. (MS. Dodsworth 105, f. 2.) Adeliz, daughter of Adeline de Ivery, married Alberic de Ver, who held part of Islip in his wife's right, and gave ten shillings annual rent, issuing from his one part of tithe at Islip, to the monks of Thorney. The mill, above-mentioned, was probably on the spot where the present mill is. In Domesday-book, the possessions of Adeline de Ivery, at Islip, are described to consist of a mill and a large wood; a small portion of the latter being all that now remains. The mill is stated by Kennett to have been left by Adeline to the abbey of Bec, in Normandy. Soon after the death of Jeffrey de Ivery, to whom the Islip manor descended, it was granted to William de Cury, who dying about the year 1173, the property again reverted to the crown; and the abbot and convent of Westminster, urging their claims to it, ultimately succeeded in re-possessioning themselves of the manor.

This account, however, though supported by the authority of Domesday-book, and other competent records, is inconsistent with the following curious charter of William the Conqueror, in the cartulary of Westminster monas-



tery. Whether it is a forgery or not, I leave others to decide:—

“Willelmus rex Angliæ Remigio episcopo Lincoln: et Willelmo filio Osberti et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis de Oxenefordescira salutem. Sciatis quia volo et firmiter præcipio ut ecclesia sancti Petri Westmonasterii et Edwinus abbas et monachi ejusdem ecclesiæ habeant manerium suum Githslepe, in quo videlicet rex Edwardus cognatus meus fuit natus, cum omnibus rebus et appendiciis suis, ita plene et quiete et libere sicut prædictus rex Edwardus melius et plenius ac liberius illis concessit, et sicut etiam rex præfatus ad dedicationem illius ecclesiæ in dotem perpetuam æternaliter eandem hæreditavit ecclesiam. Concedo itaque illis in eodem manerio sacam et socam, cum tol et theam et latrone, et cum omnibus aliis consuetudinibus et legibus quæ ad meam regiam dignitatem pertinent. Præterea clamo eos quietos amodo ab omnibus querelis et sciris et hundredis, et a scoto, et ab omni mea consuetudine et censu pecuniæ quæ *Geld* vel *Danegeld* Anglice vocatur. Et nolo ut aliquis de illo aliquid auferat aut diminuât, vel ullus aliquam omnino habeat inde intromissionem aliquo tempore, nisi abbas et monachi ad utilitatem monasterii. Teste Odone episcopo et Rodberto comite de Moret., fratribus meis, et Hugone de Munford.”—MS. Cott. Faust. A. iii.

William de Curtlington, abbot of Westminster from 1315 to 1331,¹ rebuilt the manor-house at Islip. “Willelmus de Curtlyngton per viam Spiritus Sancti electus est in abbatem Westm. xxiiij. die Aprilis post mortem prædicti Ricardi. Hic autem pater manerium de Yslepe in comitatu Oxoniæ a fundamentis de novo construxit valde sumptuose, ut ibidem cernitur, in loco quo jam existit. Quia autem tempora sua manerium prædictum in alio loco juxta ecclesiam parochialem, in quo loco sanctus rex Edwardus natus erat, ut habetur in telligrapho ipsius regis qui sic incipit, Ego Edwardus, etc. *fere circa finem*. Postremo ego ipse pro spe retributionis eternæ, et *infra* posui in dotalicium et in perpetuam hæreditatem et paulo post, Inprimis Islep villam in qua natus fui cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus”, etc. (MS. Cotton. Claud. A. viii, f. 57, vº.)

¹ Queen Isabel lodged some weeks at Islip, in the latter part of the year 1326.—Wood, i, 161.

The substance of this, mentioned in the following account of the village, in Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1789, i, 298-9: "Islep, a pretty thoroughfare on the left ripe of Cherwell. It is called, in the Confessor's charter, Gibtslepe (a misprint for Gihtslepe), Hiltseape,¹ Hleslepe, Ighteslep, and Gythselepe in the Saxon charter. It is now a mean ill-built village. It gave birth to Edward the Confessor, whose father, king Ethelred, had a palace here, which stood on the north side of the church, and the chapel thereof served as a barn, but was taken down and rebuilt a few years ago; so that no traces remain of the original edifice. William de Curtlyngton, abbot of Westminster, 1315-33 (?), built the manor-house anew very handsomely, and in a different place. The font in which the Confessor was supposed to have been baptized, was long used at the Plume of Feathers inn, for a washing-basin, till bought by Mr. Brown, of Nether-Kiddington, where it stands in the garden of lady Mostyn, daughter and heir of the late sir George Brown, bart., on a handsome pedestal, with some lines, rather pious than learned. It is engraved in Plot, pl. 16." According to Dr. Plot, this font originally stood in the Confessor's chapel, near the church; and on the pedestal the following statement is made,—*This font came from the king's chapell in Islip*. The following lines are also inscribed on the base of the font:—

"This sacred font St. Edward first receav'd
From womb to grace, from grace to glory went:
His virtuous life to this fayre isle beqveth'd
Prase and to vs bvt lent.
Let this remaine the trophies of his fame,
A king baptiz'd, from hence a saint became."

Hearne, in the *Glossary to Robert of Gloucester*, has the following curious observations on this relic. "For my own part," says he, "I never yet saw this old font, which is truly a most venerable piece of antiquity, and which I could wish were kept in a dry place; but it is very remarkable what the foresaid ingenious and honourable gentleman told me, namely, that, when struck, it sounds like a bell, and that a certain lady, when she us'd to feed turkeys out of it, was deterr'd from that kind of sacrilege by this

¹ In the Pipe Rolls, *temp.* Hen. Terti.

accident, viz., that all her turkeys died!" The friend alluded to by Hearne, was B. L. Calvert, esq.

The remains of the Confessor's chapel were near the church; and there is a curious notice of them in the Dinely MSS. of the seventeenth century, which were exhibited at the Worcester Congress of the British Archæological Association, by sir Edward Winington, bart., in 1848. "Islip, a town neer Oxford, and in this county, is famous for the birth of Edward the Confessor: that which was anciently his chappel is now made use of for a granary or barne; the shape of one of the windows shews it was design'd for a religious use." An engraving of it was published by Hearne, in his *Curious Discourses*, 1720, from which it was copied by the late Mr. Dunkin. It was taken down about the year 1780; and the materials are said to have been employed in the construction of some additions to the present Red Lion Inn. The Feathers Inn, now pulled down, was traditionally said to have been built with the materials of the Confessor's palace. When Islip was in the great London and Worcester road, the Feathers was an inn for gentry, and the Red Lion for the carriers. Travellers turned off at Wheatley to go through Islip and Chipping-Norton. In Shakespeare's time, travellers from Stratford-on-Avon seem to have passed through Islip. In some manuscript accounts of expenses "leayd out when we went to the courte", 1592, preserved in the Council-chamber at Stratford, we find the following entries:—"The second night at Iselipp for our suppers, ijs. iiij*d*.; and for our horsemeate the same night at Iselipp, ijs. viij*d*."

Little, if any, of the Saxon church remains at Islip—the present structure chiefly belonging to the fourteenth century. Parts of the pillars and arches on the north side of the nave are, however, of a considerably earlier period. The chancel, which had been destroyed during the civil wars, was rebuilt by Dr. South in 1680, as appears from the following inscription on one of the beams in the roof: "Robertus South, S.T.P., in ecclesiam hanc parochialem inductus anno Domini 1678, propriis sumptibus hanc cancellariam a fundamentis instauravit extruxitque anno Domini 1680." "The church," says Dean Vincent, in his MS. History of Islip preserved at the rectory, "is an ancient building, and though certainly not of the Confes-

sor's age, four of the pillars on the north are evidently Saxon by their bulk and capitals. These are probably the remains of a former edifice, and I apprehend that their bases are buried by the raising of the pavement: the ground of the church-yard is much above the level of the floor of the church, as is the case with most old churches, from the accretion of soil by burying: but here it is remarkably raised more on the north side, where there are no graves, than on the south, which must have been caused by conveyance of soil from the south side to prevent a greater accumulation on that part." In the chancel are five mural tablets:—1, John Aglionby,¹ rector, died Feb. 6th, 1609-10; 2, James Horrockes, rector near twelve years, died Feb. 15th, 1625-6; 3, Henry Morris, esq., who died Jan. 10th, 1627, and Robert Banks, gent., who died Nov. 18th, 1605, erected by their wife Susannah; 4, Edward Drewe, gent., died January 23rd, 1656, the person described by Hinton, on whom a miracle was wrought by grace; 5, Luke Clapham, who died April 2nd, 1676, and Susanna his wife, eldest daughter of John Hearne, of Amring Hall, Norfolk, who died Nov. 16th, 1669. On a brass on the ground in the chancel this—

“Quem Sancti Albani monachum domus inclyta fovit,
 Quemque professorem pagina sacra dedit,
 Edmundus jacet hic Vesty, da, Christe, precamur
 Post mortem famulo cœlica regna tua.”—

MS. Harl. 6365, p. 166.

Some years ago, old paintings were discovered on the south wall of the south aisle, and are still visible, though the brightness of the colours have somewhat faded since their first discovery. The subject of the largest and most conspicuous of these is the offering of the three kings; one of whom is in the act of presenting his gift to our Saviour, holding his crown in his left hand. On the right of the Holy Virgin is an aged man, probably intended for Joseph; although from the style of the chair in which he is seated he might be referred to a Roman ecclesiastic of a later

¹ “Here under resteth the body of John Aglionby, Doctor of Divinity, sometimes parson of this towne, and fellow of the Queen's Coll. and Principall of Edmund Hall in Oxon, and

Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Elizabeth and King James, who departed this life the vj. day of February, anno Domini 1609, and the xliij. year of his age.”

period. Over the head of the Saviour is an angel descending with a vessel of incense, and above the figures is a kind of roof, formerly probably part of the stable in which Christ was born. The second subject is St. Michael weighing a soul, which is represented as a small naked figure in one scale of a balance, whilst the other scale is attempted to be weighed down by a figure in scaly armour representing an evil spirit. Both pictures are painted in distemper, and are carefully drawn. Portions of several other paintings are discernible on the walls of the north aisle.

Leland, writing in the reign of Henry VIII, gives some curious notices of Islip. "Islep, a pretty thoroughfare on the left ripe of Cherwell river. Hard by it is a fayre bridge over Cherwell, well arched with stone, and a mile and halfe above it is Gosford-bridge over Cherwell, and a 2 miles above Gosford is Emley-bridge. A 2 miles above Emley is Heiwood-bridge on Cherwell. From Islep to Oxford, 3 miles to goe by the meadows on Cherwell, but to goe on the left-hand towards the *Woody Hill* is 4 miles." (*Lelandi Itin.* 1769, iv, 127.) He had previously said: "Thence to Islep an 8 mile, leaving Ottemor on the right hand, that, if the waters had not beene up, had beene the next waye. In this Ottemar was the first foundation of Tame Abbey." Leland's accounts of distances are not quite accurate, being under the correct measure. The river Ray from Bicester joins the Charwell within a quarter of a mile below Islip-bridge. It crosses Otmoor, and receives several brooks from the north in its course, and is liable to great floods. Leland alludes to these when he mentions the impracticability of crossing Otmoor.

The rental of Islip manor in 1541 amounted to £59:7:4, as appears from a roll in the Augmentation office, containing an abstract of the income of Westminster monastery: "Manerium de Iselippe, Redd: Assis: xl*li*. xs. ij *l*.—Firm. terr. d'nic'. vj*li*.—Firm. molendin. vij*li*. xs.—Perquis. cur. v*li*. vijs. ij*d*."

Woody Hill, mentioned by Leland, retains the name of Wood-hill,—no doubt from Pratwell, or Prattle-wood; which, though now a very small enclosure of trees and underwood, formerly extended over that district. This wood is mentioned in Domesday-book, and continued till the enclosure in 1806. Among the parish records is a

copy of a chancery decree by lord Verulam, Feb. 19th, 17 Jac. I, confirmed by lord Keeper Williams in 1623, which empowered the dean and chapter to enclose a fourth part of the woods; but four hundred acres were still left open for the use of the inhabitants of Islip and Noke.

Islip was the scene of a skirmish during the civil wars. According to Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i, 151, Cromwell defeated the earl of Northampton, lord Wilmot, and colonel Palmer, at Islip-bridge, taking two hundred prisoners, and five hundred horses. He then summoned Bletchington-house, which was surrendered by colonel Windebank, who was shot at Oxford for abandoning its defence. In 1643, lord Hopton was at Islip with a body of the king's army, when captain Temple, from Newport-Pagnel, beat up some of the neighbouring quarters, taking fifty horses, eighteen prisoners, and £150 in money; and spread such an alarm, that the king's forces fled from Islip, crying out "Essex was at their heels".—*Hart. Miscell.* i, 234.

Edward Hinton was rector of the village during the Commonwealth. He was presented on August 29th, 1646, and appears to have been a violent Puritan; but he read the Prayers and the Articles at the Restoration, and conformed to the liturgy,—by these means keeping possession of the living till his death in 1678.¹ The following entry in the parish register, dated 1647, will curiously exhibit the state of religious feeling in Islip at that period:—"Katherina Walker, Johannis et Joannæ filia, Christo nunciabatur Maii nono, cum pro ignorantia tumultuantis vulgi (a fœdere promissionis juxta et reformationis non alieni tantum, sed iis inimici) summa cum difficultate, meo ne dicam periculo, sacramentum administravit infelix pastor." Another entry (Jan. 23rd, 1656), amongst the burials, is worth quoting:—"Edward Dewe, gent., on whom free grace wrought a miracle, was buried by us, bitterly and generally lamented." Dewe lived at the manor-house, and had a lease of the manor. He was a strong Puritan. Hinton was buried in the chancel, July 25th, 1678.

Dr. South, the next rector, was a great benefactor to the village. He repaired the chancel of the church, rebuilt the rectory-house, and endowed an excellent school.

¹ Dean Vincent's MSS. preserved at Islip.

The latter was founded for twenty-one boys, to be clothed and taught gratis, and is endowed with lands at Wolvercot, Cutislow, and Piddington, and fee-farm rents at Eastington and Goddington. Education, however, is bestowed on all the boys of the village whose parents desire it. South mentions this school in his will. "And now whereas I have bestowed a considerable part of my estate in erecting and endowing at my sole charge and expense a school in the parish of Islip in the county of Oxon, and by a particular deed vested the same in the dean and chapter of St. Peter's church, in Westminster; but yet, nevertheless, for the sole support, maintenance, and benefit of the said school, I do by these presents fully ratify and confirm the said deed of settlement in the said dean and chapter of St. Peter, in Westminster, and their successors for ever, to and for all the trusts, uses, and conditions therein mentioned and contained." (*Posthumous Works*, pp. 76-7.) Dr. South was born in 1633; elected from Westminster, 1651; B.A., 1655; M.A., 1657; deacon, 1658; public orator, 1660; prebend of Westminster, 1663; D.D., 1663; canon of Christ-Church, 1670; chaplain to the Polish embassy, 1674; rector of Islip, 1678; built the chancel, 1680; built the rectory, 1690; died, July 8th, 1716.—*Dean Vincent's MSS.*

The earlier rectors were Hugo de Glastonbury, presented 1246; Walter de Tudinton, 1252, d. 1296; Robert de Leyham, xj. kal. Jun. 1296 (Kennett erroneously writes Robert de Legum); Thomas de Heyford, viij. Id. Sept. 1318; Henry de Iddebury, Rob. de Hemmyngburgh, 1333; Adam Rikeman, John Sulthorn, 1366; William Horsleye, 1369; Stephen Payne, 1411; John Wouburn, 1413; Thomas Clyff, 1417; Roger Assar, Thomas Haywood, 1443; William Kynwolmersch, 1446; William Danyell, 1450; William Browne, Thomas Wylcock, 1465; Simon Stalworth, 1479; Richard Norton, July 9th, 1495; Stalworth exchanged with Norton and took Alderkirk; Robert Weston, 1508; William Dicker, March 7th, 1511-2, who resigned; William Shragar, June 12th, 1517; Peter Potkin, March 1st, 1518-9; Hugh Walker, May 1st, 1520; Robert Carter, April 20th, 1526; Richard Townley, 1531. The resignation of abbot Benson, and the dissolution of the monastery at Westminster, took place on January 16th,

1539-40, 38 Hen. VIII. Benson became dean on the new foundation; and the first name that appears as rector of Islip, is James Procter, who resigned in 1549. His successor was William Haynes, who was presented by Thomas Parkins of Eynsham, patron, *pro hac vice*, by the donation of the dean and chapter of Westminster. This seems to imply some sort of exchange or accommodation, as there was a Simon Haynes, a prebend of the first stall, to whom William was probably related. Haynes died in 1550, and was succeeded by Humphry Parkins, who was prebendary of the seventh stall in 1540, upon the new foundation, but was deprived by queen Mary in 1554, and appears to have been one of the clergy who went abroad with Dean Coxe to avoid the persecution. He is most likely the Parkins, or Perkins, who had been a monk before the Dissolution; but who showed a feeling towards the Reformation, and changed his name to Faith or Charity. (Widmore, p. 134.) He was restored again by queen Elizabeth, as prebend of the second stall, in 1560; but whether to his living or not does not appear. Weston, the dean, was appointed to the rectory in 1554, and held it till 1556, when he was created dean of Windsor.

The next in the list are — Tobye Matthew; William Wilson, February 8th, 1579-80; Hugh Lloyd, 1588; Thomas Ravis, inducted May 15th, 1598; John Aglionby, 1608; Robert Newett,¹ inducted May 6th, 1609-10; James Horrockes, 1613; Theodore Price, 1626; John King, inducted February 18th, 1631, died August 7th, 1638, and buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor; Thomas Atkinson, inducted December 18th, 1638, per me Nicolas Vilett, Islip regr.; Nicolas Vilett, inducted February 25th, 1638-9; Lodowick Wemys, mentioned on the Westminster books, but not in the Islip register. He was probably excluded by his religious opinions; and the next rector, Edward Hinton, has been previously mentioned.

“Visus Francii plegii, una cum curia Baron: Henrici Norreys armig. et Susannæ uxoris ejus, et Thomæ Gildred generosi firmariorum decani et capituli ecclesiæ S. Petri Westmonast. maner. et libertat. de Islip cum membris in

¹ The king had illegally appointed dean and chapter successfully resisted a person of the name of Hindle, but the the presentation.

com. Oxon. tent. per Thomam Bird senescallum annis 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, per Carolum Holloway arm. senescallum, annis 20, 21, 22 Jac., 1, 2, 3 Car. I."—*Cat. Manuscr. Gul. Wright, ap. Bernard*, 1697, ii, 108.

The parish registers commence on May 4th, 1590, and have been kept, with few interruptions, to the present time. The burials from 1647 to 1656 are not noticed; and there are other *lacunæ* during the civil wars; at which period there are certificates of contracts of marriage made before a justice of peace, including one at Woodstock, published in the market-place for three market-days, and signed by the mayor. A school is noticed as having been kept by a Robert Evans, in 1626; and amongst the burials, July 8th, 1660, is the following singular entry:—"Francis Minchin, who lived we know not how, and was murdered we know not by whom."

The early churchwarden-accounts do not appear to have been preserved. The earliest I have seen commence in 1700; but even at this late date we find a few entries of some curiosity:—

1700.	For ringing on Gunpowder Treason	£0	2	6
	For a bottle of wine at Christmas	0	2	6
1701.	Gave to a man that killed a fox	0	1	0
	Collected then upon a brief for Chester cathedral	0	9	1½
	Paid for ringing on the king's birthday	0	2	6
1702.	Paid at Easter Visitation for two proclamations and a book, being a forme of praisse for the queen, and our presentiments and expences	0	9	2
	For ringing on the queen's coronation-day	0	2	6
1703.	Given to a man burnt by fier	0	1	0
	Ale for prosessioning ¹	0	16	8
1705.	Bread for Palm Sunday	0	0	2
1706.	Paid to Nicholas for ringing for the rejoycing at the victory of our armey beating the French in Flanders	0	3	0
1707.	Agreed with Hemmins of Bister for a new parish clock made with brass wheels and a new hand- board, all materials to be made and fixt up by him at	6	15	0

¹ That is, walking the parish boundaries.—See a similar entry in Dunkin's "History of Bicester", p. 262.

A leden wait for the clock, 87 lb., at seven far-			
things a pound			
	£0	12	8½
1709. Ringing for Dr. Secheverel	0	2	6
1712. Given to two souldiers that were disbanded, and			
had the queen's broad seal for relief	0	0	6
1713. Paid for ale that I gave the sparrow-catchers to			
the widow Goodgam	0	0	6
1716. Gave to a gentleman in want	0	0	6
1721. Paid to two men for killing three hedgehogs	0	1	0
1729. For three dozen of sparrows	0	0	6
1758. Paid for fifteen hedghogs	0	5	0
1771. Paid for a pole-cat	0	0	4

It is much to be regretted that early parish accounts are not more used by topographers. The clergy would perform a most acceptable service by preserving notices and extracts from all such documents in their custody; for they not unfrequently throw considerable light on the manners and customs of our ancestors.

Near Islip church is a large elm-tree, the root of which is surrounded by stones. It is commonly called the Cross-tree, and tradition says it occupies the situation of the ancient cross. In most of the neighbouring villages are remains either of the steps, or of the cross, in a more perfect state.

J. O. HALLIWELL.

ON CRYSTALS OF AUGURY.

It is much to be regretted, that of the specimens of semi-globular crystals mounted in silver, exhibited by Mr. W. S. Fitch, Nov. 29th, 1848, no history has been furnished by the owner (the rev. T. Mills). They consist of two polished pieces of transparent rock crystal set in silver. The stones were nearly semi-globose, with slightly convex backs: the largest piece having two laps of metal crossing its underside, to which is attached a loop; the

other piece, which is not so prominent, has a loop at one edge, and the two are held together by a short chain of silver passing through the loops. From the appearance of these crystals, there can be little doubt that they belong to the class of objects called "*Druidic*"; but the mountings and chain are not older than the time of Elizabeth or James I. From the position of the loops and chain, it is evident that the larger crystal was to be held up when used, so that the other should hang pendent as a sort of speculum.

Such objects as these were not unknown to the old astrologers; and I have little hesitation in affirming, that this is the divining apparatus of some necromancer of the sixteenth, or early part of the seventeenth century. We hear of the crystal of Paracelsus, in which could be beheld events past, present, and to come; and Joachim Camerarius mentions a round crystalline gem, inspected by a chaste youth, wherein the youth, discerning an apparition, could receive intelligence of anything he required.¹ Dr. Dee, of famous memory, had his *magic mirror* and *show-stone*, or *holy-stone*, which he "did all his feats upon", assisted by the knavish Kelley. The mirror, or "black-stone, into which Dr. Dee used to call his spirits", was a disc of polished Cannel-coal in a case of leather, and was long preserved in the cabinet of the Mordaunts, earls of Peterborough, and afterwards at Strawberry-Hill. At the dispersion of this collection it passed into the hands of a person named Strong, of Bristol. This speculum reminds us of the *ink mirror* of the east, described in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*. Dr. Dee's *show-stone*, or *holy-stone*, which he asserted was given to him by an angel, is now all but lost among the minerals in the British Museum: it is a beautiful globe of polished crystal, of the variety known as smoky quartz, and much resembles a specimen engraved in the *Nenia Britannica*, which was discovered in a Kentish barrow. This latter specimen is mounted in laps of silver, and pendent from two silver rings; and though found with Saxon *reliquiæ*, is probably nevertheless of Druidic workmanship.

¹ See Martin on the Western Isles, cap. 5, page 42, who relates the same p. 167; and also Godefridus, lib. 1, story.

We learn from the *Bardic Poems*, that the Druids employed crystals in their most sacred and important mysteries. They had their *liath meisicith*, or magical stone of speculation,¹ the burning lens which drew down the *logh*, or spiritual fire, from heaven upon their sacrifices; and Taliesin speaks of the *cwruwg grydrin*, or boat of glass,² of which several examples are in our National Collection. The *cromthear*, or officiating priest of the pagan Irish, carried his *leug*, or *leice*, for divination; and what is remarkable, quartz crystals are still borne by the *coradjies*, or priests of Van Diemen's Land, as sacred stones, which are preserved unpolluted by the eyes of women.³

From the form of the crystals exhibited, it is not impossible that they were once set in the *liath meisicith*, and having been discovered in a Druid barrow, were regarded as possessing magical virtues: hence, their appropriation as a lens and speculum of augury by some astute magician of former days. Even the idea of the silver links may be derived from the *iogh-draoch*, or chain-ring of divination of the *ard-druadh* (arch-druid).⁴ But wonder-working stones are not unfrequently pendent from a chain; like the renowned *Lee-penny*, with its ruddy gem, the trophy of the Holy wars.

If any more rational explanation can be given of this exceedingly curious specimen, I am quite willing to relinquish the theory I have now ventured to advance.

H. SYER CUMING.

¹ A magnificent one is engraved in Vallancey's "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis", vol. iv.

² See Cadair Taliesin, in the Welsh Archæology, vol. i.

³ See Mitchell's "Australia", vol. ii, page 338.

⁴ One is figured in the "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis", vol. iv, plate xiv.

FURTHER NOTES
IN REFERENCE TO THE DISCOVERIES AT
ICKLETON AND CHESTERFORD.

IN consequence of the report I had the honour to lay before the Association in the last Part of our *Journal*, I have received from our friend Mr. W. Stevenson Fitch, of Ipswich, a letter, taken from his valuable collection of original documents, which I have obtained his sanction to print entire; and as it bears upon the subject of our investigation, and affords some little topographical and antiquarian information, it will, at least, be acceptable to our Essex members and friends. It is signed B. F. (B. Forster), Chelmsford, October 1765, and addressed, "To Mr. T. F. Forster, Merch^t. in Walbrook, London." It was dictated to Mr. B. Forster, by Dr. Foote Gower, for the information of Mr. T. F. Forster, who, it appears, had contemplated a visit to Chesterford. Most of the intelligence respecting Chesterford, published by Gough, appears to have been furnished by Dr. Gower; but whether the latter left any manuscripts relative to the researches in that locality, which we may infer he prosecuted with much ardour, I have not been able to learn. The beginning and the conclusion of the letter, relating to domestic matters, are omitted.

"Besides the great encampment, opposite to the Crown, there certainly is a smaller one near the church: the old wall on the right hand of the road coming from London, between the mill and *Gardiner's*, has been one side of it: an inconsiderable bank, on which the 'N.' wall of the church-yard stands, another:—and there is a third, towards the river, which whenever opened appears to be *made wall*.

"Near the mill has been discovered a tessellated pavement, and the stone trough, now at the blacksmith's, was likewise found near the mill: it was carried unopened into the house of the person who then occupied the mill, and the contents of it kept a secret, but the miller gave a handsome treat to the labourers who found it.


"The name of *Borough Field* is not confined to the ground enclosed in the great encampment, but the adjacent grounds, particularly all that lies between it and the river, are comprehended in it.

“ In the ground between the encampment and the river is the spot supposed to have been an amphitheatre : there is no bank or inequality of ground remaining, but Mr. Shepherd observed the corn to grow very thin in a circle of about 8 *yards*¹ wide, including a space of 100 *yards*¹ diameter.

“ The traces of the streets, and the entrances of the camp east and west, are plainly discernible by the thinness of the corn, when growing.

“ Near a cottage, beside the Newmarket road, were lately discovered in digging under the track of the walls for materials for the road, three holes, filled with blackish earth : in them pieces of bones of animals and earthenware ; and across the top of one of them was a human skeleton.

“ Very near the same place was found a small urn of red earth, which would contain about a pint, with a cover to it : in it were pieces of parchment with writing on them : some of these pieces of parchment were given to Oslin, the man who kept the Crown before Gardiner, but in all probability they were destroyed ;—several of them are supposed to have fallen into the hands of Judge Reynolds. It is imagined that coins were found at the same time, and the man who discovered these about 50 years ago, is still living, an ancient labouring man.

“ On the Ickleton side of the river, in a hollow way leading to Strethall, not far from the mill-bridge, in digging for gravel, were found near the bank, several pieces of solid gold, of this form  and of different sizes ; the largest about the thickness of a man's finger, the smallest of a wheat straw : they were sold to different goldsmiths, and the smallest of them fetched two guineas. These may possibly have been *fibulæ*.

“ Near the same place, two or three holes, similar to those beforementioned, with burnt earth, and pieces of earthen-ware.

“ Encampments adjacent to the great one are, one, oblong and angular, at Hingeston, called the Hingeston Barrows. It is about half a mile distant from the great one. It lies on the river ; the side farthest from the river is close by the road leading by the back of Mr. Vechel's house into the village. Probably one at Burton Wood, two long miles from the great encampment. A small square encampment, mentioned by Stukeley, near Walden :—Quere, whether the same with one close to the town, at the back of Mr. Browne the surgeon's garden ? Ringhill you know of. There is likewise a small camp on the Ickleton and Duxford side of the river, which I saw, but don't know how to describe the site of.

“ Roads : one leading into the great encampment from the ford at the mill, the other way carrying you into the *very considerable road* from Ickleton to Strethall. This last seems to be near as perfect as when made, but does not go in a strait line. Going on this road from Ickleton southwards, you get on a rise near Ickleton, called Coplow Hill, from whence you see the road lying before you as far to Strethall, where it comes at right angles

¹ As the Dr. thinks from memory, and not *feet*.



into Strethall-street, and is there block't up by a house, but may be recovered beyond it. Strethall-street, at right angles with this, likewise Roman, easily traceable into a farm-yard nearly opposite to Littlebury church one way; and to a way post two or three miles distant from Strethall the other.

" Parallel with the road from Ickleton to Strethall, nearer the river, is a third Roman road, near as perfect as when first made: this you will easily find, as it comes out into Littlebury town at a place you must remember:—in going down to Chesterford, you will observe that at the entrance into Littlebury, instead of keeping strait on, you take a sharp turn to the right, and so go by the church: the strait on road is the continuation of this road I am now speaking of.

" Parallel still, is a fourth Roman road, on the opposite side of the river from Littlebury,—the present road from Walden to Stump Cross, which is at a way post between Chesterford and Hingeston. This is as mentioned as Roman by Dr. Gale in his commentary. The present Newmarket and Chesterford road is almost indisputably Roman.

" A sixth Roman road comes from the third mentioned, at right angles, crosses the present road, and goes on as far as the river;—how much farther uncertain. This road goes thro' the village of Little Chesterford; and near it, west of the great road, there is some reason to suppose the encampment might be found, which gives name to this village.

" Road the 2d was mentioned as leading from Strethall to a way post. The road which there crosses it at right angles [our 7th] is the Icknield-street, which is indisputably traceable westward to Royston; but from our way post are *two* branches eastward or north-eastward; one (marked in Warburton's map), leading along low grounds into Ickleton-street, but now almost defaced, tho' some marks are still to be seen near a farm-house in some enclosures: the northern branch goes over a rising ground above Ickleton, and is still called the port way; tradition says of this, that it has been a great old road, and the famous highway to London. The track of this road goes on (to the north of the great encampment) to an old ford over the river, but the road now in use is modern, and leads to another ford (a little northward of ours), called Brockleford Bridges; however, evidence of the existence of our road shall be produced presently;—it goes on eastward of the river, thro' a little grove towards Vechell's hause. As a proof of its existence where now disused and interrupted by enclosures; hear what Mr. Shepherd, the antiquarian farmer, says of it.—' Our town of Ickleton, sir, must have been a great place formerly, for below the Brockleford Bridge road is a place called *the street*;¹ Mr. Hanchett, the lord of the manor, had the curiosity to have a part of it dug into, and they disco-

¹ This was in the days of Mr. Shepherd's infant-antiquarianism, while he had only gratified his curiosity by looking about him, and was utterly uninstructed. (B. F.)

vered foundations of some kind or other there.—Now as these *foundations* were found in a bank, the course of which is a direct continuation of the line of the port way to the old ford, I think anybody, that will be satisfied with evidence short of demonstration, will allow our road to have gone here.

“When I said above that the road through the camp went in a direction from *west* to *east*, I meant that it came into the camp at the side most distant from Gardiner’s, and out at the side by the Cambridge road, almost opposite to Gardiner’s: (this I mention, because Dr. Gower, from looking at Warburton’s map, doubts whether we are right as to our points of the compass, tho’ I still think that we are):—however, the road coming out of the encampment opposite Gardiner’s is continued in a lane somewhere near Gardiner’s, leading down to the river, where it has been fordable, and where Dr. G.’s guides told him there evidently had been an old road, and asked where it could lead to:—the exact situation of this lane, and on which side of the Crown it lies, the doctor cannot positively assert, as he never rode it till the last day of his being in that country, and after his attention had been engaged by many other things; but this you will easily give a more accurate account of. This is our 8th road.

“The 9th.—Very near where the last road past the river is another, crossing it at right angles, still on the same side of the river, and abutting on the parsonage house of Great Chesterford;—this road is continued a considerable way eastward, and though abruptly finished at the parsonage, there is a tradition that it was carried on to the west, and crost the river, which here takes a considerable turn. Both this and the preceding are marked in Warburton’s map.

“10th.—Between a wood called *Burton Wood* and the track of the 8th road, is a road, the foundations of which have in many places been laid open by a watercourse, and which appears to have been made with great art and labour: it crosses the 8th road in a direction about north-west, and goes on, leaving the great encampment to the S.W., towards the river:—this road is known by the name of the Cow-path. As it ascends the hill it divides into two paths; the left hand indisputably Roman, the right going to the banks in the wood:—Qu. whether either of them Icknield-street? In the very spot where Dr. Gower had told Shepherd he would find a ford, if this road had ever been continued across the river, he in his last letter writes the Dr. that he had accordingly found one between Chesterford and Ickleton. Burton, you will observe, is a promising name, and this road might be looked for thro’ the wood with good hopes, especially as Mr. Pike (who has often hunted thro’ the wood), remembers to have seen banks there, and seems to think himself he could trace out a camp there.

“11th.—At the same ford where this last road is supposed to have crost the river (which is in a place called Dick’s Mead), they have certainly discovered another road (by the dying away of the corn in a long strait track)

leading towards the camp I mentioned, called Hingston Barrows: the breadth of this road, Shepherd says, they can accurately trace.

"12.—The 12th is a road, with a noble agger, crossing the river at Whittlesford-bridge. It is much frequented by hog jobbers, and such gear.

"13.—The 13th is at some distance from Chesterford (about 8 miles I suppose), crossing the Newmarket road, and passing over Gog-Magog hills. This is only mentioned as being the most noble remain of any in the road way, and known by the name of the *ditch*,—as the *fosse-way*.

"In Abington grove is a very considerable bank, but whether road or anything else remains to be determined. I myself am apt to think it one side of an encampment, going down the hill from the grove.

"Another very considerable bank (or it may be a continuation of the same) is in Chesterford park, near the manor-house.

"14.—A considerable Roman road goes from Walden to Linton. The agger near Linton very elevated. Another seems to have crost it at right angles going to Hadstock.

"A ditch sets out from Pampisford (vulgarly Pauncer), near Chesterford, and would be worth a man's while to trace that had already spent half a year in investigating the Roman antiquities in this neighbourhood.

"Near Newport church-yard, that side of it which is farthest from the town, it is reported there is a camp.

"As a proof that the roads Dr. G. fixes on as Roman, near Ickleton, are really such, Shepherd tells him that in scouring their ditches in the low grounds near Ickleton, they meet with evident made foundations, in the direction of several of the Dr.'s roads. This letter I have sat up till 12 o'clock writing from the doctor's verbal accounts."¹

The portions in this letter referring to Ickleton are very interesting, especially since the locality has attracted so much notice from Mr. Neville's excavations; and it is not at all improbable that the statements respecting "foundations" near "the street", and others in the "low grounds near Ickleton", may suggest further researches, and lead to more discoveries. With Mr. Forster's letter is a rough map of the roads therein described, which I have placed in the hands of a friend to verify, if possible, from existing remains; but in the lapse of seventy years it is probable that all traces of some of them may be entirely effaced.

At one of our late public meetings my attention was directed to a printed report of a meeting of the Society of

¹ The coins, and I believe the other antiquities of Dr. Foote Gower, were bought by the late Mr. Tyson, then of Felix Hall, near Kelvedon. The frag-

ment of sculpture found at Chesterford, and engraved in vol. iv of the Journal, was given to the British Museum by Mr. Hollis, of the Hlyde, near Ingatestone.

Antiquaries of Cambridge, held Dec. 5th, 1848, at which some of the members of that society called in question the Roman origin of the buildings discovered at Ickleton and Chesterford. It was urged in support of this opinion, that the rooms (of the villas) were not built round a court, that the use of Roman bricks, and the continuation of the mode of warming employed by that people, formed no proof of Roman origin, as both were certainly used at times long after the departure of the Romans from Britain; that the oblong room, called a temple, or basilica, was also a building of later than Roman date; that no pillars ever stood upon the foundations, which were more probably the supports of wooden props for the roof; that the arrangement of these foundations was irregular, and the work rude.

I do not think the gentlemen who thus dissented from the general notions respecting these antiquities, would have maintained such opinions had they more closely examined the ruins, or had they taken into consideration the objects, exclusively Roman, discovered in and about them. I cannot, for a moment, admit the force of their arguments, as applied to the Ickleton and Chesterford remains. Although it was customary with the Romans frequently to construct their larger villas round a court, we must bear in mind, there were villas of all grades; and that by far the greater number of those discovered in this country, are not constructed with rooms round a court. The use of Roman bricks certainly does not of itself decide a building to be Roman; but where Roman bricks have been used in a building of later than Roman date, the mortar will always be a decisive test. This important evidence, which apparently has been overlooked by our friends at Cambridge, would of itself negative the whole of the objections urged against the Roman origin of these foundations. The mortar of Saxon and Norman buildings contains a larger proportion of sand than the Roman, and is consequently more pervious and friable. When tiles have been taken from Roman works and used in edifices in after times, portions of the original mortar may nearly always be detected adhering to the tiles, and almost as compact and hard as the tiles themselves; while at the same time it affords a visible as well as chemical contrast to the less

ancient cements. I am not aware of any instance of the use of the hypocaust in this country after the time of the Romans. Whether the building, of which we have given a plan (see p. 365, vol. iv), was a temple or a basilica, is not so easy to decide, as it is to affirm that it must have been Roman, whatever may have been its use or purpose. The irregularity of the bases of the columns was occasioned by ploughing and other agricultural operations. Blocks of stone are, it is well known, merely cemented together with mortar; but if wooden props had been used, it is probable they would have required mortices to receive them, of none of which were there any traces. Moreover, while the excavations were in progress, large masses of flooring, composed of the peculiar concrete which usually forms the substratum of Roman pavements, were noticed, indicating the probable existence at some period of a tessellated flooring. A very short time previous to the discovery of this building, I had an opportunity of seeing at Caerleon very similar foundations, with portions of the columns and a pediment, and the analogy between the two struck me at the time very forcibly. Those of Caerleon were palpably of a temple.

C. ROACH SMITH.

ON THE HORN-SHAPED HEAD-DRESSES OF THE 13TH, 14TH, AND 15TH CENTURIES.

THE importance of the study of ancient costume, not only to the mere antiquary, but to authors and artists in general,—I may add, to all persons of liberal education or natural good taste,—has, of late years, I am happy to say, become so universally acknowledged, as to render it unnecessary for me to apologize for occupying a small portion of the time of the British Archaeological Association, in an attempt to illustrate a remarkable feature in its history, and one upon which considerable difference of opinion exists between antiquaries of great authority, who have

written on the subject, and the individual who has now the honour of addressing you. The portion of ancient costume to which I allude, is a peculiar head-dress known as the horned, or forked-shaped, undoubtedly worn by the ladies of the fifteenth century; and which, from certain passages in writers of the fourteenth century, it is presumed was also in fashion amongst the fair sex as early as the reign of Edward I. Our highly-valued associate, and "secretary for foreign affairs", Mr. Wright, has not considered this affair foreign to his favourite branch of archæology, as he is fully aware of the light which may be thrown on the date of a manuscript, or other relic of the middle ages, from contemporary pictorial or sculptural illustration.

In a paper on the subject, printed in the first number of the *Archæological Journal* (March 1844), after remarking, that "we in the first instance derive the knowledge of costume itself from the study and comparison of monuments of different ages, and especially of the illuminations of manuscripts", he observes—"But we are too apt in this and other things to take the silence of writers, or the absence of pictured representation, as a negative assertion, a proof that a certain thing did not exist"; and adds—"It is the object of the following observations to point out one example of the danger of this practice. No portion of medieval costume", he continues, "underwent more frequent changes than the head-dress of ladies. In the fifteenth century the female coiffure was made to take the form of two horns,—a fashion which excited the indignation and mirth of contemporary moralists and satirists. This horned head-dress appears, we believe, in no pictorial monuments older than the reign of Henry IV; nevertheless, a French writer of the beginning of the fourteenth century,—Jehan de Meun, who completed the famous *Romance of the Rose*,—speaks very distinctly of women's horns." And then, after quoting the lines, to which I shall call your attention presently, Mr. Wright says—"This passage was observed by Strutt, who has been blamed for attributing, on this single authority, the horned head-dress to so early a period as the reign of Edward I of England." Now, I believe, I was the first writer who questioned the fact; but, most certainly, I did not blame Mr. Strutt for *not* questioning it; I merely

pointed out the error I conceived he had very naturally fallen into, from supposing that "*les cornes*" of Jean de Meun were the same as those alluded to by the writers, and depicted by the illuminators, of the fifteenth century; and observed, that much confusion was likely to result from the observations he had appended to his notice of it; not on account of his individual opinion, which Mr. Wright supports, and which may still turn out to be correct—but because Mr. Strutt had in his description of this presumed head-dress, mixed up quotations from Jean de Meun with others from writers of the reigns of Henry IV and Henry VI, at which latter period the well-known horned head-gear was flourishing in all its monstrosity. In the letter-press to Mr. Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, it is also authoritatively stated, that, "in spite of the assertions of many writers to the contrary, the allusions in the poets and other popular writers, prove that the horned head-dresses were in use in the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries." Now, I beg to remark, that I have never pretended to assert, that *no* head-dress which might be termed *horned*, existed when Jean de Meun wrote; I merely warned the student of costume not to confound it with the fashion of a much later date. My words in the *History of British Costume*, written fourteen years ago, are—"Some evanescent caprice may have provoked the simile: but it has not been handed down to us by the pencil"; and in my note upon Strutt's description (*Dress and Habits*, vol. ii, p. 128, new edition, 1842), I say—"In the first place, the horns reprobated by Jean de Meun at the beginning of the fourteenth century, are totally different from those which distinguished the horned head-dress so called, *par excellence*, at the beginning of the fifteenth."

By way of introduction to the remarks I am about to make on this subject, I shall quote, from my *History of British Costume*, a few lines descriptive of the general dress of the ladies in the reign of Edward I, and also the particular passages in the codicil to the *Roman de la Rose*, which has given rise to the controversy. "The female costume of this period has been severely satirized by contemporary writers, as we have already remarked, and we are inclined to think unjustly so; for in nearly all the illu-

minations of this reign, it appears elegantly simple, particularly when compared with that of the reign of Rufus, the tasteless and extravagant fashions of which, certainly provoked and deserved both ridicule and reprobation. The authors of the famous *Roman de la Rose*, William de Loris, who died it is presumed in 1260, and John de Meun, his continuator, who is said to have finished the poem about the year 1304, are amongst the most bitter of these satirists; particularly the latter, who, it has been acknowledged, extended his sarcasms beyond the bounds of truth and decency. It is true that they were both Frenchmen, and that their philippic is directed against their own countrywomen; but the same style of costume was generally prevalent at the same period throughout Europe; and England, then as now, adopted the most whimsical fashions of her continental neighbours. A double marriage, in the year 1298, contributed also not a little to the introduction of French fashions: Edward I marrying the sister, and his son (the prince of Wales) the daughter of Philip IV of France, surnamed le Bel. The ladies of the reign of Edward I appear in the robe or kirtle, with long tight sleeves and a train, over which is generally seen another vestment, the surcoat, supertunic, or cyclas, without sleeves; but as long in the skirt as the gown itself, and sometimes held up by one hand, to keep it out of the way of the feet. The effigy of Eleanor, queen of Edward I, is remarkable for its simplicity and the absence of any kind of head-tire,—her hair streaming naturally upon her shoulders from under the regal diadems. But in illuminations of this period, the hair of married ladies and noble dames is generally gathered up behind into a caul of golden net work (called ‘crestine,’ ‘crespine,’ and ‘crespinette’), over which is worn the peplos or veil, and sometimes upon that a low-crowned cap; while the younger females are depicted with flowing ringlets, bound by a single garland, or fillets of gold, or silk, or by the still more becoming chaplet of real flowers. The authors of the *Roman de la Rose* mention all these articles of apparel, and thereby confirm the authenticity of the illuminations: first, the unnecessary length of the trains; in allusion to which, the satirist advises the ladies, if their legs be not handsome, nor their feet small and delicate, to wear long robes trailing on the pavement to hide them; those on

the contrary, who have pretty feet, are counselled to elevate their robes as if for air or convenience, that all who are passing by may see and admire them. And another poet of the thirteenth century compares the ladies of his day to peacocks and magpies. 'For the pies,' says he, 'naturally bear feathers of various colours; so the ladies delight in strange habits and diversity of ornaments. The pies have long tails that trail in the dirt; so that the ladies make their tails a thousand times longer than those of peacocks and pies.' The second rational complaint is against a very ugly species of wimple, called a 'gorget,' which appears about this date. Jean de Meun describes it as wrapped two or three times round the neck, and then, being fastened with a great many pins, it was raised on either side the face as high as the ears. 'Par dieu,' exclaims the poet, 'I have often thought in my heart, when I have seen a lady so closely tied up, that her neckcloth was nailed to her chin, or that she had the pins hooked into her flesh'; and certainly we must admit he had some reason to think so, when we look upon the representation of this singular monstrosity, as copied from an illumination of the period in an astronomical manuscript in the Sloane collection,



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British Museum. Here we see it worn without the veil or kerchief, which in most specimens prevents our distinguishing its peculiar features. It is fortunate that I am

enabled to point out to you, in the cathedral of Worcester, a very striking example of the costume, satirized by Jean de Meun. It is represented on the effigy described by Spelman, and those who have followed him, as that of a countess of Warren or Surrey; but which the late Mr. Hollis has designated as one of the Clifford family. Here you perceive the gorget enveloping the neck of the figure, as in the illumination, but the projections are concealed by the coverchief, which, however, they assist in distending on each side to a considerable extent. I think I shall be able to prove to you, that the horns spoken of by Jean de Meun, are the projections aforesaid. His words are,—



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‘ Il y a d’espingles demy un escuelle
Fichee en deux cornes et entour la touelle.’

‘ Half a bushel of pins stuck in two horns, and around the cloth or gorget’;—and he goes on to say,—

‘ Si je l’osais dire sans les courroucier,
Leur chausser, leur vestir, leur lyer, leur tressier,
Leur chaperons troussies et leur cornes dressier,
Ne sont venuz avant fors pour homme bleecier.’

Now I am not inclined to admit the accuracy of Mr. Strutt’s translation of the last two lines. He renders them,—‘ Their hoods thrown back, *with* their horns elevated *and* brought forward *as if* it were to wound us.’ ‘*Trousies*’ does not signify thrown back; but trussed or tucked up. There is no word corresponding to ‘*with*’, which in his translation appears to connect the chaperon with the horns. ‘*Dressier*’ signifies ‘to construct’, as well as to ‘elevate’. There is no sanction for his introduction of the words ‘*and brought forward*’; and finally, ‘*fors*’ does not signify ‘*as if*’, but is obsolete French for *except*. The whole passage should therefore read thus: ‘If I might dare to speak without irritating them (the ladies), their hosing, their vesting, their girding, their hair-dressing, their tucked-up hoods, and their fabricated horns, are not come forward (that is to say, produced, displayed, or brought into fashion), except (fors) to wound mankind’. The satirist is not, in my opinion, speaking of the horns merely as weapons of offence, but of the whole costume as adopted for the purpose of attacking man’s heart.

I must next particularly call your attention to the expressions, ‘trussed or tucked up hoods.’ The chaperon of this period is an exceedingly well known head-dress. It was a cowl with a point or tail to it, worn by both sexes; and in the reigns of Edward I and II, fantastically twisted up and placed on the top of the head, suggesting most



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probably the regularly constructed chaperon or hood, with its roundlet and tippet, which characterizes the costume of the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV. I need scarcely point out to any person acquainted with ancient costume, that the horned head-dress of the fifteenth century could not be worn with a trussed or tucked up-hood. It is a complete head-dress of itself;—whereas, supposing even it was the intention of Jean de Meun to indicate that the tucked-up hood was worn with the horns, we have here an instance of it being worn over the gorget (vide fig. 4), and of course it might still more easily be worn twisted up on the top of the head (vide figs. 5 and 6), surmounting protuberances of hair, or convoluted and reticulated ornaments, which might also deserve the names of bosses and horns, as I shall presently have occasion to show you.

In support of his opinion, however, Mr. Wright quotes a very curious little satire on the fashions of the time, printed by Mons. Jubinal, in his volume, entitled *Jongleurs et Trouvères*, and itself called “Des Cornetes.” The original manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Royal at Paris, and Mr. Wright is informed by M. Paulin Paris, that it was written within the first ten years of the fourteenth century. Mr. Wright also quotes another French satire, supposed to be of rather an earlier date, and a Latin song, not much later, both of which contain allusions to the horned heads of the ladies.

Now, granting, as I do most readily, the MSS. quoted by Mr. Wright to be of the dates asserted, I think it will be found upon examination that the allusions in them are not to high-peaked or bifurcated head-dresses, but to certain excrescences and convolutions visible in illuminations of that period, and which might suggest to a satirist the appellation of bosses and ram’s horns; for be it noticed that in the poem printed by M. Jubinal, entitled *Des Cornetes*, people are directed to cry “Heurte *Belier!*” and in another satire, the ladies are said to wear “les *boces* comme cornue bestes,” expressions which cannot be properly applied to the sharp and towering horns worn in the fifteenth century, but are perfectly descriptive of the various protuberances distending the gorget and coverchef of female figures of the reigns of Edward I and II, in England, and contemporary effigies or drawings in France and Italy. Take for examples

the effigies of Jeanne de Senlis, who died in 1306 (fig. 8), and Jeanne de Sancerre, circa 1350 (fig. 9), for bosses of the most preposterous description—a figure in Sloane MS., British Museum, marked 3863 (vide cut 1, fig. c, page 64), for an indication of something very similar to a ram's horn in the lines formed by the lower portions of the coif, which in this instance is worn without veil or gorget, and would consequently render the fair culprits liable to another charge, brought against the ladies of this age by one of these writers, who censures them for their bare necks as well as for their horns. The head of an effigy of one of the Ryther family (fig. 7), engraved by Hollis, affords us an instance of the projections of the wimple or gorget, “fitchée en deux cornes,” in such a manner as to illustrate precisely one of



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the passages in the *Roman de la Rose*, quoted by Mr. Wright in support of the opposite opinion, and which states that “between the towel (or gorget) and the temple and the horns, there is a space through which a rat might pass, or the largest weasel between this and Arras.”

“Entre la touelle

Et la temple et les cornes purroit passer un rat,

Ou la greigneur moustelée qui soit jusques Arras.”

This space is formed by the distension of the gorget, the points or horns of which meet the hair on each side of the head, plaited and stiffened out over the ears, and covered by the veil or kerchief, which is itself confined just above them by a fillet of silk or gold,—illustrating an allusion in the Latin song before mentioned, “*cum capite cornuto auro circumvoluto*,” and a verse in the codicil to the *Roman de la Rose*, in which it is said that they tied a ribbon, lace, or chaplet tightly round their heads over their horns,—

“Plus fort : car sur les cornes entour le hanapel

Seuglent estroit leurs testes d'un latz ou dung chapel.”—

Codicille, v. 13534.



Allowing for the usual exaggeration of such satires, and the extreme to which a fashion is frequently carried, the passage of a rat or weasel between the temple and the horns of the gorget can be easily understood on contemplating the figure before us. Again, in the *Roman de la Rose*, the horns are stated to be "*sur les oreilles*," which I understand *on* the ears, not *above* them, and just where they appear in the examples I have selected. The same satirist also says:

"Je ne scay s'on appelle potances ou corbeaulx
Ce qui soubtient leurs cornes quilz tiennent pour si beaulx,
May ca scay je bien que sainte Elizabeaulx
N'est pas en paradis pour porter eez lambeaulx."

"I do not know whether they call them gibbets or brackets which support the horns they consider so beautiful, but this I know well, that Saint Elizabeth is not in Paradise through wearing such rags or tatters." Herein we surely see an allusion to the square form of head-dress which is formed by the veil or coverchief being worn over lateral projections, as in an effigy in Worcester Cathedral (fig. 13).



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11



12



13

In the effigy of Can de la Scala, engraved by Bonnard (fig. 11), we have a specimen of male head attire twisted into the shape of horns on each side of the head, but not soaring above it; and that of Donna Savelli, at Rome, from the same work (fig. 12), presents us with another variety, the pins sticking out right and left; but in no instance, either abroad, or in England, do we find a single example of a *high-horned* head-dress at the commencement of the fourteenth century!

There is one other point I would call your attention to, as it is a most important circumstance in all such investigations and controversies. It is the exact meaning of terms at the period in which they are used. There are two employed in the descriptions of the head-dress we are discussing, which have undoubtedly varied in their signification at different

periods. By the word “forked” a reader of the present day would undoubtedly understand double-pointed or divided; but Bulwer, in his pedigree of the English gallant, speaks of “forked shoes almost as long again as our feet”, meaning thereby only long-toed, or snouted; and cornet, or cornette, signifies not only a little horn, but anything pointed,—a woman’s cap or head-dress altogether,¹ and sometimes only a portion of it, as, for instance, “Cornet, the upper pinner that dangles about the cheeks, hanging down with flaps.” (*Ladies’ Dictionary*, 1694.) Here we see the word applied to a pendant strip of lace, an article as unlike a horn as possible. But, what is still more to our purpose, we find that the end or corner of the tippets of the chaperon of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was called a cornette², and therefore, whether elevated or depending, the term was equally applicable. We also know that the title of cornet in our cavalry regiments is derived from the pointed standard so called. The poem entitled *Des Cornetes* was certainly not written in censure of a high-peaked or bifurcated head-dress, for the horns are distinctly described as rams’ horns, made with plaited hemp or linen, “De chanvre ouvré ou de lin,” and though mention is made of the quantity of false hair worn by the ladies, “d’autrui cheveux portent granz sommes dessus lor teste.” I do not agree with Mr. Wright in thinking the horns were supported by or made of it, but that the satirist is alluding to another cotemporaneous fashion, of which we have a specimen in the adjoining fig. 14. It is quite true, as Mr. Wright remarks, that the term horned was applied to bishops wearing the mitre, which is double-peaked; but “Il corno” was the name for the cap of the Doge of Venice, which everybody knows had but one peak, and that of a very different description. At the same time I may observe that there was another sort of mitre, which was merely a conical cap, and called “mitre fermée en l’étéignoir,” and the term was applied by cotemporaneous writers to the steeple head-dress



14

¹ Cornette; sorte de coiffe que les femmes mettent sur leurs têtes: cornette de dentelle—cornette de nuit. Il se disait anciennement de toute

sorte d'habillement de tête.—Landair.

² Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece Notice sur l'Ouvrage de Mons. Willemin.

that succeeded the bifurcated one. "La France qui souloit estre eornue maintenant est mitrée et sont maintenant ces mitres en manière de cheminées, etc. Pierre des Gros." (*Le Jardin des Nobles.*) I must, therefore, repeat my conviction that the horned head-dress of the fourteenth century bore no affinity to that so called in the fifteenth; but, instead of suggesting, as formerly, that some evanescent caprice had provoked a simile which had not been handed down to us by the pencil, I am now satisfied that the illuminators and sculptors of the thirteenth century *have* depicted the horned head-dress of their day as faithfully as the other monstrosities complained of, and that it is only a misconception of the meaning of the satirical writers which has hitherto prevented our recognition of it. Let us review the authorities with which the sculptors and the painters of those days have furnished us, in chronological order.—In the reign of Edward I (from 1272 to 1301) we perceive (vide cut 1, figs. *a, b, c*), the ugly gorget, the cornuted coif, and the various modes of naturally or artificially increasing the bulk of the head; the appearance of those same head-dresses when covered by the veil; the increasing extravagances of the bosses and gorgets of the reign of Edward II (vide figs. 7, 8, 9); the horned or eared head-dresses of both males and females at the latter period (vide figs. 10, 11, 12), and the square bracket or gibbet head-dress which was likewise in fashion during the fourteenth century (vide fig. 13); the hoods or chaperons of the fourteenth century, with their cornettes, some elevated, some depending (vide figs. 3, 4, 5, 6); the extravagant coiffures in the cases made for the ringlets, and the arched head-dresses of the middle of the fourteenth century (figs. 15, 16, 17); the gradual appearance of the heart-shaped head-dress in the reign of Henry IV (figs. 18, 19); the portentous and truly horned head-dress of the times of Henry V (figs. 20, 21); and, last, but certainly not least, the mitres, steeples, and horns of the fifteenth century (figs. 22 to 26), which are the subject of Lydgate's well-known ballad on forked head-dresses, beginning "Of God and kind proceedith all beauty", and in which he assures them "Beauty will show though horns were away". The steeple head-dress still exists in Normandy, where it is known generally as the *cauchoise*. The old term for it appears to have been "*Hennin*," and the satirical illuminators of the reign of



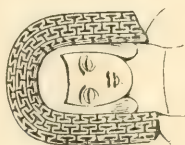
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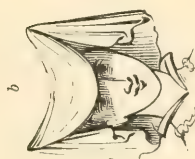
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b



a

20

Henry VI caricatured it in this style (fig. 27). But let us not be too hard upon the follies of the fifteenth century when there are many now living who can remember fashions



25



26



27

equally preposterous. The powdered mountains worn by our grandmothers, surmounted by post-chaises, parrots, vegetables, nay, a kitchen-garden with the figure of a gardener at work in it, are not to be exceeded in bad taste or



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absurdity by any mediæval coiffure; and even the monstrous head-dress of lady Arundel, in the fourteenth century (fig. 21), was singularly reproduced, at least in outline, as late as the year 1786, as you will perceive by the little caricature, with the exhibition of which I will conclude this humble "lecture on heads," which you have done me the favour of enduring.

J. R. PLANCHÉ.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING ALDBOROUGH,

THE ISURIUM BRIGANTIIUM OF THE ROMANS.

ALDBOROUGH is situated on the southern bank of the Ure, and on the line of the northern Watheling or Watling-street. It is sixteen miles and a half (N.W. by N.) from York, and half a mile east of Boroughbridge; and was named by Horsley, the capital of the Brigantes.

It is said to have been originally called Iseur, (or, more properly, Uyseur).¹ Afterwards, the Romans altering Uyseur into Iseur,² and postfixing a termination suitable to

¹ The word *Ouse*, according to Dr. Langwith, is derived from two British words, *uys* and *eur*, both of which signify water; and that the river went sometimes by one name, and sometimes

by both, as in the present instance; and thus the name of the place arose from the twofold name of the river.

² Leland derives the name from *Isis* and *Eurus*.

their own idiom, gave it the name of Isurium, which was, for a time, their chief seat in the north, before the foundation of Eburacum. (Burton, in his commentary on the Itinerary of Antoninus, says, the goddess Isis was known among the Britons; thereby favouring the latter form, Iseur). Finally, the Saxons denominated it Eald-burg, significant of its antiquity in their time. It is now called Oldburg, Aldburg, and Aldborough.

The city, which is in the form of a parallelogram, encloses sixty acres, "and is," says Horsley, "longer from east to west, than from north to south, though the ramparts have not been exactly directed to the cardinal points, and is about two miles in compass." The walls measure 2500 yards in circuit, and are in some places four yards thick, but the average is about two and a half. They are founded on large pebbles laid in a bed of blue clay, and now entirely covered with earth, except where excavations have been made for the purpose of investigation.

In 1794, the foundation wall of the city was opened on the west side, for the purpose of obtaining stone, and its thickness was found to be five yards, and the same below the surface; the first layer was of red-grit, mixed with lime and coarse sand, to the depth of seven feet: the second was of pebbles, imbedded in blue clay to the depth of eight feet, resting on a bed of sand. Pieces of urns, small millstone, grit querns, horns of deer sawn transversely, a British axe, and a Druidical amulet, were discovered; from which circumstances its British origin may be inferred, and that in some measure it was in a state of defence before the time of the Romans.

The Borough Hill is in the centre of the ancient city; and in 1683, when the upper part of the hill was levelled, mosaic pavements, and the foundations of a large building, were discovered; also sacrificial vessels, bones and horns of deer, an ivory and a copper style or pin; from which circumstances Drake supposes a temple was built there, and dedicated probably to Hermes, as the Hermine-street passed by the city—some say went through it.

About seventy yards from the south-east angle of the city walls, is a semicircular outwork, called Stodhart or Studforth, two hundred feet long, and having a slope of thirty feet, which Camden says is an outwork—the great military

way from west to east—from York, running within a close of it; but Leland, who is probably nearer the truth,—the keep of a castle; others suppose it may have been a theatre, or even a stadium. The learned Mr. Morris says it is a camp of about two acres, and the only place without the walls where coins are to be found.

The two fields adjoining Studforth on the north, and the city walls on the east, have always borne the name of *Red Hills*; and were remarkable for their peculiarly parched and sterile appearance; and, from being strewed with much broken pottery, have received the name of *Red Hills*. They might have remained long unexplored, had it not been for the enterprising spirit of a bricklayer, named Lonsdale, who, in January 1846, determined to search into the hidden mysteries of these places. Scarcely had he dug a foot from the surface, ere he arrived at the *Red Grave*; the interior of which contained oaken ashes, to the depth of thirteen or fourteen inches, on a clay bed, was six feet in length, nine at the narrowest, and eighteen inches at the widest part; the exterior length of the grave was seven feet two inches by two feet six inches. The peculiarity of this is, the red border of bright tempered clay (such as was used in the Samian ware), which has evidently undergone the action of fire. It is now deposited in the grounds of Boroughbridge Hall, but owing to the carelessness of the workmen, neither the dimensions nor the shape are the same now as when first discovered.

On the south side of the city, in 1808, a number of urns containing burnt bones and ashes were found, and eighteen human skeletons; one with a piece of money between the teeth, and another with a ring on the finger, all in beautiful preservation; a thin stratum of black earth covering the ground where they were deposited.

Ermine, Erming, Ermyn, or Herman-street, passed by this city to Cataractanum: the portion of it from St. Helen's ford to Whixley, is to the present day called Rudgate, or Road-gate. Leeming-lane is a part of Ermine-street. Ερμης ἐνόμιος gave the name, which was the Tentates, or Dwy Taith, that is, "Deus Viæ", of the Britons.

This city, says Leland, "was, in the Romans' time, a great citte on Wathlyng-street, called Isuria Brigantum, and was waullid, whereof I saw 'vestigia quædam sed tenuia'.

There be now large feelds fruitful of corn where the houses of the town was, and in the feelds yearly be found many coines of silver and brasse, of the Romaine stampe."

Camden affirms that, if it were not for the Roman coins, and the distance betwixt it and York, according to Antoninus, it might be suspected whether this were the very *Isurium* or not. From the circumstance of its being so inconsiderable a place, N. Salmon deduces that the *Isurium* of the Romans was not here, but at Ripon, which, says Drake, "means nothing but novelty."

Among the Roman remains discovered here, tessellated pavements are of the most frequent occurrence; many of which have been destroyed by the falling in of buildings, and other unavoidable circumstances; but, notwithstanding all these mishaps, considerable portions of many pavements are yet preserved, from which we may conclude that *Isurium* was a more *fashionable* Roman station than *York*. Leland states that in his time sepulchres, aquæ ductûs, tessellata pavimenta, etc., were found, and in later times how many antiquities must have been discovered of which no record remains.

The pavement here represented was discovered chiefly through the exertions of Mr. H. E. Smith, on the 22d of September last, in the garden of the Black Swan Inn, one hundred and twenty yards east of the western wall, whilst turning up the soil in the hope of finding (*Columbi genio*) a tessellation kindred to that which was unearthed in 1832, from which it is only fourteen yards distant. It is twelve feet square, *perfect*, and in the highest state of preservation, the colours of the tesserae being perfectly fresh and bright. It has nine borders, enclosing a star of eight rays, within which is a cross, (composed of four slate-coloured tesserae, and a central square, which is white,) corresponding to the four points of the compass. In the first or outer border the tesserae are grey: in the second, which is not so broad, they are red. The third is white, and varies from the two former in having a different number of tesserae on each side. The numbers are 3, 5, 7, 9, respectively. The fourth is a *Guiloch*. The colours are slate, white, yellow, red, and slate. The fifth is the Etruscan pattern, and has slate and white coloured tesserae for its composition. The sixth is a *Guiloch*, but double the width of the former; the

colours occur in the same order. The seventh is a narrow white border, and the eighth is the same, but the colour is slate. The ninth is composed of slate and white-coloured tesserae. In the star are united all the above-mentioned colours, with the addition of green in four of the rays; the whole forming a rich and pleasing design.

A great number of Roman coins have also been found. Some are of gold and silver, but the generality are brass, and of the emperors Vespasian, Trajan, Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Severus, Victorinus, Valerian, Aurelian, Tetricus, Maximian, Carausius, Allectus, Constantine, and many others not here enumerated. Those of Victorinus, Tetricus, Carausius, and Constantine, abound. Also rings of gold, silver, copper, and jet, polished signets, several iron keys, bone and ivory pins, urns, bronze fibulae, etc. Some of the most remarkable circumstances are the constant traces of fire, charcoal, fused coins, broken pottery (chiefly Samian), antlers of deer, bones and tusks of boars, bones of other wild animals, besides great quantities of oyster, mussel, and cockle shells, all which occur in the stratum of Roman remains, which is from two to four feet below the surface, clearly showing that this city has suffered from the effects of fire, which has, in all probability, taken place at three separate periods,—the first by the Saxons; the second and principal destruction by the Danes, about 760, 766, 850; and the third and last by the Normans, who, we are told, left not a house standing between York and Durham.

And now, this once important Roman station,—capital of the Brigantes, and by Antoninus, in his fifth Iter, styled Isubrigantum, indicative of its being a capital,—is an inconsiderable village, the houses being irregularly built and detached.

C. MOORE JESSOP.

York, December 1, 1848.

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 10, 1849.

MR. JESSE exhibited, through Mr. Croker, a helmet, found in the Thames, at Richmond, of the time of James I. Also an Etruscan tripod, the upper portion of which was ascertained to belong to a much later period than the lower, which was of a very elegant form.

MR. WIDDOWSON exhibited a brooch, inscribed "Memento Maria Regin. obt. 28, Dec. 94."

The following letter from Dr. Cesare Vassallo, upon the Catacombs of Citta Vecchia, addressed to Lord Albert D. Conyngham, was communicated by the President:—"My lord,—When your lordship gave me permission to accompany you in the visit you paid to our catacombs, I took the liberty of promising you to state my opinion of them. Allow me now to fulfil my said promise. The catacombs which we visited first, either because they are the most spacious, or because they were first discovered, are, by the natives, dignified with the appellation of 'the Catacombs'. They extend many miles round: and, if we place any faith in the national traditions, supported by facts, which have from time to time taken place, such, for instance, as of animals having entered them and found egress at some opening of the distant rock, some of those interminable galleries have their issue in valleys five miles distant from the chief entrance. It is for this reason that, in times not very remote from our own day, it has been found necessary to restrict their extent by walling up more than one passage. And several of our husbandmen, in digging the ground, or in breaking up the soil, find themselves plunged into small tombs, which evidently formed part, and are a continuation, of the catacombs. They go back to an epoch antecedent to the Christian æra, and to pronounce them Roman would be the most likely way of avoiding error. The same customs that prevailed in Rome prevailed also in Malta, a Roman municipality. The primitive Christians and their immediate successors made use of the Roman sepulchres, adding, perhaps, to them another story, to bury the faithful apart from the pagans. For this reason two stories are visible. With some expense and much patience a third and lower might be discovered, in which still lie, as it appears, the corpses of them who were buried in those honoured tombs. Those circular platforms, rising two or three feet from the ground, and about six feet in diameter, which struck your lordship's

attention, may have served, I think, in pagan times, for slaughtering the black victims offered to the manes, and, in the days of Christianity, for washing the corpses of the faithful. I am induced to believe this by the projecting border round the platform, and the opening at the point of it, in order to give, when necessary, a ready passage to the blood and water. Of these platforms no traces are perceptible in any other catacombs hitherto discovered, not even in those of Rome. The catacombs 'Ta l'Abatia', so well divided into compartments, are a work exclusively Christian. In them is certainly not forgotten the 'oratorio', the most noble part, and in the noblest situation, viz., at the right hand of him who is inside, and separated completely from them. The painting, 'a fresco' upon a very thick coat of plaster, represents the two most sublime mysteries of our holy religion,—the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John standing by; and a Gabriel saluting the kneeling Mary. Under the horizontal beam of the cross may be read VIKTOR MORTIS. All the sublimity of this idea in a *necropolis* could only have been appreciated by your lordship, as soon as read, and I was affected by your lordship's emotion. Father Marchi, the Americus Vesputius of the catacombs of Rome (the Columbus was the Maltese Bosio), thinks this painting to be of the seventh century; and, indeed, before that time no mystery of the Passion appears to have been attempted by Christian artists. The crypt of St. Agatha is also Christian. It is dug out of the living rock, and is adorned with enchanting paintings on the wall, representing holy virgins: the work of the seventh century also. They are in a good state of preservation, notwithstanding the dampness of the place, and the total neglect of such precious monuments. The catacombs of St. Cataldo, which are likewise Roman, are of trifling extent. They perhaps belonged to some numerous family (*gens*), which was desirous of being interred separately. Of such cemeteries there is a great abundance both in Malta and Gozo. I regret very much that hitherto no one has turned his attention to the illustration of these venerable antiquities. Perhaps the fault lies in the absence of an Archaeological Society, in which many members might labour with one sole view, and publish their observations. Without something of this nature many very precious things will remain in oblivion, and under the dust with which centuries have covered them.

I have the honour to be, my lord,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

Valletta, December 8, 1848.

CESARE VASSALLO."

Mr. Bateman announced that a Roman pig of lead had been recently found in Nottinghamshire, inscribed C. IVL. PROTI. BRIT. LVT. EX. ARG.

Mr. Wm. Crafter communicated intelligence of the discovery of a Roman burial-place, near Shorne, in Kent, and exhibited sketches of some varieties of fictile vases recently excavated there.



JANUARY 24.

Mr. C. M. Jessop presented a coloured lithograph of a Roman tessellated pavement, found at Aldborough, near Boroughbridge, on the 22d of September 1848, by Mr. H. E. Smith, of York, who has supplied the following remarks in illustration¹:—"On digging in the garden of the Black Swan Inn, about three feet from the surface, a low wall was exposed, and found to surround one of the finest Roman tessellated pavements hitherto met with in Britain, being twelve feet square, perfect, well executed, and in the highest state of preservation, the colours of the *tessellæ* remaining as fresh and bright as when the room was last occupied. It is only fourteen feet distant from another curious pavement, found in 1832, and next spring will, like the latter, have a building erected for its preservation, by A. Lawson, esq., the proprietor, and be ready for public inspection."

Mr. Solly exhibited the deed of sale of the rectory of Abbots Langley, with Nash Mills, belonging to St. Alban's abbey, dated Sept. 28, 1537.

Mr. Thomas Frye, of Saffron Walden, presented an impression of a coin of Beornwulf, king of Mercia, found in the immediate vicinity of Bartlow hills. The reverse reads DERBALD. MONE. in three lines. One similar, found at Hadstock, in Essex, supposed to be unique, was bought by the British Museum for £8.

Mr. W. Edwards exhibited some Roman remains recently dug up in making the Chester railway. The Council in deferring the consideration of these, has much pleasure in acknowledging the activity displayed by the local committee for the Chester Congress in August next, in collecting the Roman and other remains recently discovered in and about Chester, which will be exhibited to the Association.

Mr. Humphrey Wickham, of Strood, Kent, exhibited a large brass coin of Lucius Ælius, reverse, TRP. COS. . . , a figure of Hope, found in a pond, near Cuxton brick-field, between Strood and Snodland.

Mr. F. I. Baigent presented drawings of a font in Tichbourne church, Hants: its circumference at the top was about eight feet, and it was composed of the Isle of Wight stone. In the churchyard there is also the base of an old font of purbeck marble, which stood upon four pillars. There is likewise a stone coffin lid in the chancel of the same church. It represents a cross fleurée, and was discovered in the summer of 1846, with the face downwards, and broken by the carelessness of the men in its removal. It is now lying in the church-yard, but lady Doughty has intimated her intention to have it placed in her chantry to secure its preservation.

The death of M. Letronne, a foreign member of the Association, and

¹ See also Mr. Jessop's observations, pages 73-7 ante.

one of the most distinguished of antiquaries and classical scholars in France, was announced with expressions of deep regret at the loss thereby sustained.

Mr. Edwin Keet exhibited a Chinese kēen, or metallic mirror (*lo* or *gong* as he conjectured), the characters upon which indicated *Woo fuh to mauue shun shang shang shil choo lo*,—i.e., Five blessings and three abundances, himself made, superior sounding. Mr. Syer Cuming made the following observations:—"The earliest artificial mirrors were probably smooth stones, which were wetted when required for use, like the black slate discs, formerly in vogue among the natives of the Sandwich Islands. The next advance was polishing the flat surface of the stone; thus obtaining a permanent reflecting disc:—such were the obsidian mirrors of the ancient Aztecks of Mexico. The discovery of the art of metallurgy was doubtlessly soon followed by the manufacture of metallic mirrors; for we find them among the Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans, but perhaps among no people earlier than the Chinese, who appear to have arrived at a high degree of civilization, whilst many other nations were sunk in the depths of barbarism.

"The metallic mirrors of the Chinese are of two kinds; the one has a flat stem, to be held in the hand, and closely resembling the classic speculum; the other a disc, to be supported in a crescent-shaped stand of wood. The one now exhibited is an example of the latter kind. The mirrors differ materially in size, varying from two inches to near two feet in diameter; the backs of some have ornaments and characters in relief; others have the embellishments produced by bronzing the surface of the metal, and then polishing certain parts, so that the characters, flowers, etc., appear bright on a dark field. The faces of some are washed with silver. There were five examples of these circular mirrors in Dunn's *Chinese Collection*, viz., Nos. 44, 164, 178, 751, and 754, of the 12th edition of the catalogue. They were there considered as ancient specimens. Davis, in his work on the Chinese, vol. ii, page 237, speaking of these circular mirrors, says,—'The mirror has a knob in the centre of the back, by which it can be held, and on the rest of the back are stamped in relief certain circles, with a kind of Grecian border. Its polished surface has that degree of convexity which gives an image of the face half its natural size; and its remarkable property is, that when you reflect the rays of the sun from the polished surface, the image of the ornamental border, and circles stamped upon the back, is seen distinctly reflected on the wall', or on a sheet of paper. 'The metal of which the mirror is made, appears to be what is called Chinese silver, a composition of tin and copper, like the metal for the specula of reflecting telescopes. The metal is very sonorous. The mirror has a rim (at the back), of about one fourth or one-sixth of an inch broad, and the inner part, upon which the figures are stamped, is considerably thinner.' The curious

property of reflection is thus attempted to be explained in Dunn's *Descriptive Catalogue*, page 51.—The probable solution to this difficulty is, that the figures seen at the back, being of a harder metal than the other plain parts, are inserted into the softer metal; and hence the figures produced in the rays of light, formed by the imperceptible union of the two metals to the naked eye. In this way the union of iron and steel, as in Sheffield cutlery, will explain the enigma familiarly'."

Mr. T. Crofton Croker remarked, that the explanation given did not appear to him so satisfactory as that he had received from captain sir Edward Belcher, viz., that metals acquire their reflecting power through the density of their polished surfaces. The Chinese impressed disc is dense in all the parts where the type projections have impressed the figure, and consequently, rendered the portion thus subjected to pressure, denser than the previous spongy plate. The under surface, being polished, will reflect all the dense lines; consequently, when the sun's rays are reflected from the polished face, the representation on the surface to which it is reflected, will display the figure on its reverse. Mr. White observed, that the Chinese metallic mirrors he had examined were cast, not struck, but that the difference of the density of the metal could be produced by casting, as well as striking.

FEBRUARY 7.

The rev. Beale Poste forwarded impressions of a small gold British coin, similar in type to fig. 4, pl. vi, *Collectanea Antiqua*, and a denarius of the Aburia family (fig. 1, tab. 1, Morell), both of which had been found in Harrietsham church-yard, Kent, and are now in the possession of Mr. A. Pryer, of Hellingbourne.

The rev. Edward Gibbs Walford communicated a notice of a recent discovery of Roman urns, on the site of the Roman *Brinavis*, near Chipping Warden:—"The south side of this Roman station falls with a deep slope from the vallum into a marshy piece of ground, being portion of a meadow below, which is bounded by the river Charwell. During the month of January this marsh-land has been undergoing an extensive drainage. The cuttings, which are wide, and from three to seven feet deep, extend from the brow of the hill to the flat ground of the meadow. I have narrowly watched the progress of the work, and the result has been the discovery of the following articles:—Fragments of Samian pottery embossed. No. 1. A fragment, four inches wide, and three inches high. This appears to have been the portion of a much prized bowl, from the great care taken in boring the holes for the rivets, which are so arranged as not to interfere with the ornamental figures. One compartment represents Apollo with his lyre, seated, with two circles at the angles. The other compartment, in the upper part, contains a semicircle in the angle, and a branch of a shrub; and the lower part, a

hate squatting. The compartments are divided by strings of small beads. The top is not embellished with the usual festoon and tassel border. No. 2. A fragment, three inches wide, and three and a half high. The upper part of the design bears the festoon and tassel ornament. Of the design there remains the head, breast, and fore-legs of a stag running, and above, a lion entire, on the point of springing down upon him. No. 3. Three inches wide, and two high. The lower part of this fragment comprises a part of the circle of the bottom; above it are the legs of two gladiators, the right foot of each resting on a square stone. In the angles are two circles of the plain bright Samian ware:—No. 1. Is a considerable portion of a very shallow dish, eight inches in diameter, and one and a half deep. The brim is ornamented with the ivy-leaf pattern. No. 2. The bottom of a bright Samian dish, with the potter's name in the centre,—SALIAPVS. The other fragments, of which there are many, are too much broken to carry any interest with them. Of vases, I have large portions of three, which, when put together, are nearly entire:—1st. A buff-coloured indented vase, eight and a half inches high, and six and a quarter wide. No. 2. A buff-coloured bowl, eight inches in diameter, and five and a half high. No. 3. An elegant lead-coloured vase, seven inches in diameter, and four and a half high. No. 4. A black dish, the rim nine and a half inches in diameter,—three and a half inches high.

“One of the drains cut through four skeletons, disposed with the heads to the west, and the feet to the east. They were enveloped in bog, and do not appear to have been interred with the usual accompaniments of sepulchral vases; nor did the soil present any ashes or signs of cremation. They lay a few yards beyond the descent of the vallum, at the depth of five feet. One was the remains of a female; and just above the body a round ball or pebble of ironstone was met with, and immediately above it a small bronze finger-ring, perfectly plain. A large quantity of the bones of animals were also dug up, namely, the skull and other bones of horses; the jaws and tusks of a boar entire; the jaw bones and teeth of cows, sheep, and goats; portions of the antler of a stag; a cow's horn, and one which I conceive to be the horn of a goat. Large foundations were also cut through, and the stones removed; they were uncut, and presented nothing particular in their appearance. All the above articles were discovered in that part of the station which is called *the Caldwiths*.

“There has also been another portion of the site of Brinavis ploughed during the present month (January), to more than the usual depth. Extensive foundations obstructed the progress of the plough, and large quantities of unhewn stones were removed in consequence. The ploughman informs me that he met with a path hitched with pebbles, nearly a foot beneath the surface, which he concludes might have originally led to some building. As he represents the ground beneath and around it as sounding extremely hollow,

I hope to obtain permission to explore it, as it is intended the field should this year lay fallow."

The rev. Mr. Walford has since forwarded further observations on this discovery, and a plan,¹ made by sir Henry Dryden, bart. :—" I have much pleasure in forwarding the ground plan of the Roman building, discovered in February 1849, in draining the lower part of the Caldwiths, or Black Grounds, at Brinavis. It has been taken with great accuracy by sir Henry Dryden, on a very extensive scale; a reduced copy of which I now send you. Being informed by the labourers that they had cut through two walls, as described in the plan, I immediately inspected the spot, and on excavating a small portion of the east side of the ash-pit, I found it was cased with Roman brick, and, in consequence, I was induced to pursue the discovery: the successful result of this investigation, I have now great gratification in laying before the Council of the Archaeological Association.

"The remains are situated but a few yards below the declivity of the station. From the piers in the ash-pit, A, an opening through the wall leads to the hypocaust of two chambers, BB, connected by another opening through the second wall. The floor has a slight inclination towards the ash-pit. The eight pillars in the recess of the first chamber, B, are perfect; they are formed of six square bricks, well cemented together with mortar, with two rows of larger dimensions, forming a straight arch, covered with concrete two inches thick. The superincumbent pavement, if any ever existed, is gone. The elevation and construction of this part of the hypocaust, exactly resembles the engraving in the *Archæological Journal* of the hypocaust in the Roman house in Thames-street. The remaining pillars are, for the most part, in good preservation. The opening of the chamber, A, was next completed: the pit contained a quantity of wood ashes and a few small fragments of broken brown-pottery. The bath-room, c, was next discovered, which has no *apparent* connexion with the hypocaust. At EE, is a raised seat: one part of the top of it is formed of square bricks placed longitudinally, and the other part, facing D, is of concrete. The semicircular end of this apartment, D, is paved with plain square red tiles, with a raised border of concrete, in which is a small groove or drain. The walls are constructed with the common stone of the country: and in the highest part, where the hypocaust is perfect, do not rise above the concreted top of it. No openings from the flues into the walls for the insertion of tiles could be discovered, though many broken fragments of flue tiles, curiously scored, were found among the rubbish. Not a single tessera was met with in any part of the building. With the exception of the semicircular end, D, before described, the apartment, c, was without pavement. The present floor, which is a mere covering of earth, was dug into to the depth of two

¹ By an accident this has been mislaid, but will be inserted in the next number of the *Journal*.

feet, and the labourers assured me the soil had never been disturbed. Two small brass coins of Constantius II, and an indescribable piece of iron, were the only relics disinterred on the site. The whole circumference of the walls has been trenched to the bottom of the foundations, without discovering any signs of connexion with other apartments."

Mr. William Wire forwarded a plan illustrative of some notes on recent discoveries of Roman remains at Colchester. The following remarks will enable the reader to comprehend the excavations made:—"I herewith send a rough-sketched plan of the discoveries of Roman remains that have been brought to light within the last six months, in this old town. It was not possible to take any very accurate measurements of the pavements, in consequence of the system pursued in laying down the drainage pipes,—no more excavations being carried on than were necessary. A trench was dug, from six to ten feet deep, three feet wide, and six feet long; then a space of four feet in length was left to be tunneled under, and in more than one instance the tunnel was carried under part of a tessellated pavement. However desirable it might have been to have seen the whole of the remains exposed, it could not have been done, in consequence of some of the streets in which they were found being places of great thoroughfare. The description will follow the track of the works in the order they were executed. To begin with Botolph-street, nothing was found, excepting a horse-shoe, probably of the seventeenth century; where Botolph's-gate stood was part of the foundation, exhibiting the same appearance as the town wall does, excepting the bonding tiles, which, I believe, were not used by the Romans in the construction of their walls. In the parts hidden from the eye no pounded brick was discovered mixed with the mortar, neither is there any in the town wall, but at the grand military entrance at the top of Balkon-hill. Queen-street was barren of interest, nothing being found but a bronze fibula, (of a cruciform shape, the tongue of which was broken by the labourer who picked it up in trying to move it), coins of Vespasian II, consecration type, and a few of the lower empire, all in very poor condition; this relates to the lower part of the street. The upper part was found to have had sand removed, and filled up by the debris of a brick-yard, nothing else scarcely being thrown out but parts of bricks and dust of the same description. There were some considerably sized lumps of burnt clay, which were considered by competent judges to be the outer walls of clamps, in which the bricks were burnt; this particularly occurred near All Saints' church, not only in this street, but some distance up Calver-street. The most interesting discovery made here was part of a mill-stone, which had evidently worked vertically, as the edge showed, similar to the crushing-stone of a modern oil-mill. This, as well as all the fragments of mill or quern stones (for no whole ones have been found here), was made from the lava of an extinct volcano on the banks of the Rhine. We now proceed up Calver-street:

here nothing was met with worthy of notice till the work proceeded nearly opposite the grammar school, where an old wall was found crossing the street at nearly right angles, exhibiting the usual hardness and compactness of other old walls found here. At the back of the Cross Keys Inn was a piece of floor of Roman tiles, eighteen inches long, twelve inches wide, two inches thick, laid upon a bed of concrete of pounded bricks. Opposite St. Nicholas church, rather more to the east, was a wall foundation of the usual adhesive character, and the operation of breaking it up was difficult. Further on, nearly opposite the Wesleyan chapel, a quantity of fragments of thin slabs of marble, some white, others green, and some variegated; they no doubt formed a floor, as all of them are faced,—it has been suggested that they were part of the tessellated floor of the adjacent church,—several fragments of brass, two brass rings, of peculiar make, both of one pattern, but of different diameters, and some pieces of plain and embossed Samian ware of no new design. Lion-walk, at the north end, a pavement of coarse red tesserae was found and broken up; at the other end one composed of small (half-inch square) and different coloured tesserae was exposed, but what the subject was could not be discovered, as it had previously been disturbed; but enough has been left to wish it had escaped entire. In digging for a cesspool, at the extreme south-west corner, numerous fragments of Roman roof-tiles were thrown out. In Eld-lane fragments of embossed and plain Samian ware, a bulla formerly enamelled, and nearly a whole patera of plain Samian, with MATERNI . M impressed in the inside of the bottom. In the burial-grounds of the Independent and Baptist chapels tessellated pavements have been discovered, which, from their size and distance, probably were the floors of different rooms, if not separate villas. In Victoria-place, at the south-west corner, a fine pavement was discovered some years since, but of what character does not now occur to me. I remember it was more firmly put together than most of them are, and with a little trouble might have been raised whole: it was about six or eight feet square, and two urns were standing upon it, one partly in the other. Short Wyre-street, a plain red Samian ware, accompanied by an urn, in fragments, which contained calcined human bones; this I conceive to be within the walls of the town. In Long Wyre-street the greatest discoveries were made: a floor of Roman tiles or bricks; a pavement composed of coarse red tesserae; a wall crossing the street at an angle: these were broken up as far as was necessary to construct the works. Three hypocaust flues round arches formed of tiles eight inches square; near the middle one were two flue tiles, thirteen inches long, of the usual shape, with lateral openings, and three tiles, eighteen inches long, and ten wide on the inside, with return sides, two and a half inches deep, leaving a vacancy in each return six inches wide, so that if two were put together they would form a sort of box in the spaces; and the reflex

edges will just hold one of the above pipes that were found standing on their ends. Now, it has always appeared strange to me how the flues or pipes could convey the hot air to warm a room if originally standing as described, and always represented; but these tiles seem to explain it, by allowing the pipes to be carried horizontally, so that the main current of air would pass along them, and the side holes allow sufficient to escape, to give the requisite warmth. The tiles and flues are discoloured by smoke. It is difficult to me, unaccustomed as I am, to describe these matters, no work accessible to me contains either a description or detailed account of such tiles. Within the fire-places was a quantity of charcoal and soot. They were covered up again unmutilated, except the last, which was partly destroyed by trying to get one of the bricks out for me. A pavement, which I have not seen, but the person on whose premises it is, assures me it is a very pretty one, and part of it forms the floor of his soil-pit. He informs me, about three feet below the surface, in his garden, a continuation of it is to be met with. Albion-court, at the bottom, is another pavement, but of what character I cannot say, not having seen it. The tessellated pavements are red, with intersecting lines, the brick floors plain red, and the wall green. I had almost forgot to refer to a pavement composed of white and black tesserae in some design, half inch square, running from east to west, across the yard of the Red Lion Inn, a house of about the time of Henry VII. As only about eighteen inches of this was uncovered, it was impossible to see what subject was composed on it. Morant mentions a pavement of this sort being discovered on these premises."

Mr. Crofton Croker exhibited drawings of a clay mask and small stone figure, found in a cave on the Caicos islands (a small group of the Bahamas), communicated to him by captain Edward Barnett, R.N. "The first specimen", Mr. Croker observed (judging from the specimens in his possession found in Caribean graves at Tobago), "was probably the ornamental part of a pitcher or drinking vessel. The latter, by a hole bored from ear to ear, appears to have been worn as an amulet; its height does not exceed two inches."

Impressions from a seal recently found near Kildysart, parish of Coolmein, in the west of the county of Clare, were exhibited by Mr. Crofton Croker, Mr. Richardson, of Dublin, Mr. W. Jerdan, and Mr. Lindsay, of Cork. The matrix had been much injured by corrosion; and a communication from the latter gentleman stated, that it appeared to him to be the seal of the chapter of the ancient diocess of Emly, in the county of Tipperary, which in 1568 was united to Cashel. The seal is circular, and something larger than a crown piece. It exhibits a view of the cathedral, and round it the inscription, ✠ SIGILLVM ✠ CAPITVLII ✠ IMELACENSIS. "The metal", Mr. Lindsay adds, "is probably brass; and it does not appear to be of any great antiquity—perhaps not earlier than the fifteenth

or sixteenth century. It is in the possession of William Morgan, esq., Rosshill, Kildysart, co. Clare."

The rev. Beale Poste communicated the following remarks on the Hartlip Roman villa, described in the *Journal*, vol. iv, page 398:—"The villa lately uncovered by Mr. Bland, at Hartlip, being the largest that has been discovered in Kent,—or at least, the largest of which an account has been preserved,—its statistics in respect to the locality in which it is situated appear to be deserving some degree of notice. Our attention is recalled by several indications to the Roman state of this vicinity during the time the villa was in the tenure of its original race of occupants.

"As to the Roman settlements in the neighbourhood, Rainham lies from it distant, north-west by north, about one mile and a quarter; and that name, whether it occurs in Kent or Essex, is usually interpreted Roman-ham,—i. e., Roman hamlet or village. Key-cor hill, in the parish of Newington, which tradition strongly connects with the Romans, is within three miles, in an easterly direction; as is the Roman cemetery of Croch-field, also in the same parish, which, about a century since, attracted so much public attention, by the descriptions of Dr. Meric Casaubon, in his translation of the *Meditations of Marcus Antoninus*, 4to, 1635; and where still Roman coins are occasionally found. As to the communications sea-ward, there were two Roman ports to the north on the estuary of the Medway,—that of Otterham, and that of Halstow; the Roman vestiges of which last are mentioned in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxix, page 226. As to Roman roads, the Watling-street from Durobrivæ (Rochester) to Durovernum (Canterbury) passes in its course about a mile to the north. But this villa was more immediately situated on a Roman road, which certainly formerly must have been of some importance; though not one of those mentioned in the itineraries of Antoninus or of Richard of Cirencester. It seems to have communicated with the centre of the county; and crossing near Weaving-street, the ancient way which formerly went through the middle of Kent to the sea-coast, it ascended the chalk range of hills at Detling. Thence descending the northern inclined plane of the hills for two or three miles, and traversing some highly picturesque valley scenery, it ascended the ancient down called Queen's Down Warren, and crossed the Watling-street to Upchurch, where it threw off branches on either hand to the two former Roman ports, or communications with the estuary of the Medway, before mentioned. Throughout the whole of the course, above described, to Upchurch, it preserved nearly a straight line, for which Roman roads are so remarkable. In its progress from Queen's Down Warren, it passed so near Hartlip villa, that it was only separated from some of its westernmost buildings by twenty yards. It is, however, necessary to say, its former course is here spoken of as though remaining in its other parts from Detling-hill; in the immediate vicinity

of the villa it has been removed for about the length of a mile for many years, it being not now required to be used as a road.

“As to the field in which the villa is situated, of which the name is Dane-field; this term seems more properly to be referred to Saxon times, and to be interpreted the ‘Thane’s field’: intimating, that subsequent to Roman occupation, it belonged to a Saxon seignorial lord, than to be considered to have a reference to the Danes. It seems an easy corruption of that appellation; and generally this may seem in other instances the readiest interpretation where the word occurs in names of places.”

Mr. Edwin Keet exhibited a bronze spear-head, taken out of the Thames, near Datchett-bridge, by Mr. Henry Newman, in 1844. Its length was twenty-two inches (seventeen inches being the length of the blade, and five inches of the socket). The blade was what archaeologists term “eyed”.

FEBRUARY 21.

The following note from the rev. C. Wellbeloved, of York, was read:—
“In the course of last summer, a small fictile vessel of rude appearance, containing some Roman coins, was found by some workmen at the village of Boston, near Tadcaster, and about a mile from the old Roman road between Aldborough and Castleford. There were probably about two hundred; but some were, as usual, abstracted by the finders. The owner of the ground, however, heard of the discovery soon enough to secure the greater part. These, amounting to one hundred and seventy-two, I have carefully examined. The hoard consists of sixty-seven consular and family coins, very much worn. With great difficulty, I have ascertained all of these, except four, with the aid of Ursinus and Eckhel. Of the imperial series, there are—

Julius Cæsar (common Elephant and sacrificial instruments)	- 1	Vespasianus	- - -	19
Nero	- - - 4	Titus	- - -	7
Galba	- - - 2	Domitianus	- - -	18
Otho	- - - 2	Nerva	- - -	5
Vitellius	- - - 5	Trajanus	- - -	30
		Hadrianus	- - -	12

“Almost the whole of these are of common types; those of the latest emperors in good condition.”

Mr. Jerdan presented an impression of an oval bronze seal, found at Southover, near Lewes. It reads, ✠ S. WILLI. DELACHAPEL., round the figure of an ecclesiastic kneeling under a canopy.

The rev. Beale Poste forwarded the following remarks on the British coins reading SOLIDV. or SOLIDO:—“I beg to offer a suggestion on British coins, which I am aware are considered a subject of much interest by many persons, relative to the interpretation of a particular type which has hitherto been considered extremely obscure. The one in question is that

which bears the legend SOLIDV. or SOLIDO. This is one of the earliest mentioned of our British coins, having been noticed, though not engraved, by Camden, in his *Britannia*; and the following solutions have been suggested respecting it by various writers and numismatists. First, that it was



the coin of some unknown city in Britain, though there is no city or town recorded in Antoninus, Ptolemy, Ravennas, or any other ancient source of information, of which this word forms a part. Secondly, it has been applied to a society, named the Solidurii, mentioned by Julius Cæsar, in his *Commentaries*, who existed in Gaul, and might possibly have had a branch of their institution in Britain. These persons formed a species of masonic confederacy, and were under oath to protect each other under all circumstances, who, according to this idea, may be supposed to have formed a species of college, and to have struck coins. I now propose the first explanation to be considered the correct one, and suggest Bath to be regarded the city, where, according to Lysons (*Roman Antiquities*, part xii), there was a temple dedicated to Suli Minerva, of which some carvings and fragments of the pediments are still in existence, and which city, consequently, by the Britons might have been called Solidunum, though afterwards known by the Romans as Aqua Solis."

Mr. Roach Smith announced the recent discovery of a Roman tessellated pavement in St. Mary Axe, near the "Blue Pig". It was found by the excavators employed under the Commissioners of Sewers, while digging at the junction of St. Mary Axe with Bevis Marks, immediately beneath the course of the present streets. It was cut through and destroyed, without any efforts being made to preserve it, and also without any record being made of it on the part of the contractor for the work. Mr. Smith exhibited a sketch of a Roman statue, about two feet in height, which had been dug up in Bevis Marks during the same excavations. The figure is well sculptured in oolitic stone, and represents a youthful personage, in the Phrygian costume, bearing on his left arm a bow. The right arm has been broken away, and the legs below the knees are also gone. This figure had been hawked about for sale for several days, and ultimately carried away a considerable distance from the city, when Mr. Smith accidentally heard of and reclaimed it. The Commissioners of Sewers, without making any application to Mr. Smith, resorted to the extraordinary proceeding of summoning him to the Mansion House, before the chief magistrate. Mr. Smith stated that he feared the Commissioners of Sewers had been advised to act so discourteously and unjustly by persons whose position and education should have taught them better. The impediments thrown in the way of Mr. Smith's researches since the memorable period of the excavations for the new Royal Exchange, had almost completely hindered

him from continuing his investigations into the remains of Roman London, while, unfortunately, the city authorities had themselves neither collected many curious and valuable antiquities which had been brought to light, nor made any record of their discovery. The City Museum contained only one Roman inscription, and a fragment of Roman sculpture, both having been obtained by the interposition of Mr. Smith; and several objects which he had endeavoured to procure for this desirable institution had been declined. The civic authorities are unfavourable to the expenditure of money for a museum of antiquities; and it was with the greatest difficulty Mr. Thomas Lott procured a small grant of money from the corporation to make some preliminary arrangements for this purpose.

DISCOVERY OF ROMAN SEPULCHRAL REMAINS AT COLCHESTER.

On Monday, April 2nd, by invitation of Mr. John Taylor, jun., member of the Association, a meeting was held at Colchester, on the occasion of an exhibition, at the Colchester Literary Institution, of the extensive collection of Roman sepulchral remains, discovered within the last six months, at West Lodge, the residence of Mr. Taylor.

There were present, exclusive of many of the clergy and gentry of the neighbourhood, the rev. Professor Henslow, Mr. John Adey Repton, Mr. W. Stevenson Fitch, Mr. S. R. Solly, Mr. W. Newton, Mr. A. White, Mr. E. B. Price, Mr. Joseph Clarke, Mr. C. Baily, Mr. Brown (of Stanway), and Mr. C. Roach Smith.

West Lodge is situated on the right of the London road, on the approach to Colchester, and forms part of a very extensive tract, long since ascertained as the site of a Roman burial ground, which includes also the opposite side of the road, and a portion, at least, of the land now occupied by the Union Workhouse and its premises. In this district, in former times, have been discovered many remarkable objects of Roman art, some of which have already been described and referred to in our *Journal*. Abundantly, however, as these remains have, from time to time, been brought to light, it appears they are far from being exhausted. Although only a comparatively small portion of Mr. Taylor's grounds have been examined, nearly two hundred vessels of various kinds have been found; and he calculates that at least ten times that number remain still unexhumed. In the morning of the day of the visit, Mr. Taylor, with a view of showing his visitors examples of the mode in which the vessels had been deposited, ordered two spots, at a considerable distance apart, to be opened, both of which afforded success: in the one were found, three feet from the surface, some cinerary

urns, an earthen bottle, a lamp, and a cup and a small dish of Samian ware : at the other, a large urn, and two smaller vessels of black earth, standing in a line : some foundations were also laid open, and a large cut stone, which had apparently belonged to a building of considerable magnitude. The party then inspected a group, consisting of a large red urn, a bronze lamp, and other vessels, lately found in the garden of Mr. Bunting, adjoining West Lodge ; and also the valuable and well known collection of Mr. Vint, local member of the Council of the Association, to which had lately been added many sepulchral urns, dug up in his own grounds at St. Mary's Lodge.

In the evening, a numerous meeting of the members of the Colchester Literary Institution, and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, was held in the lecture room : the rev. Samuel Carr, one of the vice-presidents, in the chair, supported by sir G. H. Smyth, the mayor, the town clerk, and several of the clergy. In addition to Mr. Taylor's collection, were some well executed coloured drawings, by Mr. T. Pemrice, of the principal groups of sepulchral vessels, and also of the tile tombs, exhibiting the arrangement of the urns and other vessels found within them.

The chairman expressed the gratification he felt at meeting the company on an occasion so interesting ; anticipating, from the scene before him, a stimulus to the cultivation of a knowledge of antiquities, and to the formation of a museum, worthy of a town so pre-eminent for its Roman remains. He trusted the good taste and liberality shown by Mr. Taylor, would excite others to contribute in like manner to an object of such beneficial tendency ; and he trusted that the young men of the town, in particular, would devote a portion of their leisure time to a study so calculated to enlighten and expand the mind.

Mr. Taylor described the circumstances under which the remains had been brought to light. Two of the most remarkable groups were, one of twelve, and one of fifteen vessels, found on a bed of ashes. From the scorched appearance of some of them, it appeared they had been placed on the still burning embers of the fire which had consumed the body of the person whose burial they commemorated. The explanation which professor Henslow gave of the extraordinary number of vessels in these groups, was, that they represented the friends of the deceased present at the funeral ceremony ; each of whom brought his votive offering, and deposited the vessel which contained it, with the urn which held the calcined bones ! The professor expressed a doubt of the supposed use, and, consequently, of the propriety of the name, of the little glass bottles, usually known as lachrymatories ; and considered that their use was to hold the more precious liquids, unguents, and perfumes, and that their more appropriate name would be *unguentarii*.

Mr. C. Roach Smith expressed the obligation the British Archæological

Association was under to Mr. Taylor, for his zeal and liberality in promoting so effectually one of its primary objects, and for the polite attention shown him and the other members, on an occasion so gratifying as the present had proved; and he congratulated the founders of the institution, through whose medium were promised intellectual advantages to the town of Colchester, and the formation of a museum of antiquities, the materials for which were so abundant and rich. He alluded to the vast number of local antiquities which in past times, for want of a proper appreciation of their worth as elucidating the history of the place, had been dispersed and lost; and referred to some valuable inscriptions, of which only transcripts of questionable accuracy remained; following with a brief review of some of the more remarkable monuments illustrative of the early history of Colchester. He then proceeded to the examination of the sepulchral remains exhibited by Mr. Taylor, comparing them with analogous works in this and other countries, and describing their various uses in the funeral ceremony.¹

Mr. Brown, of Stanway, stated that the animal bones found with the Roman remains were of the deer or stag, and that the horns were those of an extinct species of ox called the *bos longifrons*, which had been previously noticed among the urns and other Roman antiquities found in the garden of Mr. Tabor. (See *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 43.) This ox was so named from its extraordinary long skull; in other respects it was of small size. The deer bones belonged to the present species. He had found specimens of both kinds at Walton and at Clacton, but in a state so highly mineralized that they were as heavy as cast iron. He also observed the horns of a very large goat.²

Mr. Newton congratulated the town on the magnificent display of antiquities before the meeting that evening. He was very much pleased to find that a museum was being formed in Colchester, and that this collection would be deposited in it; for local museums were highly desirable, and would help to obviate the want of a department of national antiquities in the British Museum, where foreign works of ancient art abounded, but where those of our own country were not properly appreciated. The value of the relics under consideration might be estimated in various ways. Before the Roman conquest this part of Britain was inhabited by a Celtic race, from Belgium, in a semi-barbarous state. The Romans introduced civilization, and many of the arts and manufactures. Of this the pottery works afforded a striking example. When he looked at these earthen vessels, and compared them with articles of similar ware now to be met with, it was impossible not to be struck with the vile outrageous shapes of

¹ The substance of Mr. Smith's address will be given in a future number, with appropriate illustrations.

² Mr. Brown has kindly forwarded a report, which will also appear in a future number.

the latter, with the absence of taste and everything like scientific proportion; and it was really a matter of astonishment that, with all the aid of improved science, the modern potters have so little advanced in perception of that elegance of form so common to the works of the ancients, and in applying the principles of the art to their own manufactures. As the Romans introduced the arts into Britain, so, after their departure, they declined, and in some branches were extinguished, in what were termed the dark ages. Mr. Newton then referred to the glass vases and vials as bearing upon the question of the state of the manufacture of glass in the time of the Romans; and he showed how erroneous were the popular notions on the subject.

Mr. White described the mode in which the glass vessels upon the table had been manufactured, as compared with that of our own time; and further remarks were made on the fictile ware by Mr. Smith and Mr. Price.

Upon the proposition of sir Henry Smyth, seconded by the town clerk, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Taylor for the kind manner in which he had exhibited his valuable collection.

On the motion of the mayor, seconded by Mr. S. G. Cooke, the thanks of the meeting were offered to Messrs. Roach Smith, Newton, White, Price, and the other members of the Association then present, for their attendance; and Mr. R. S. Nunn proposed, and Mr. Newton seconded, a vote of thanks to the rev. S. Carr, for filling the chair on this occasion.

On the following day some of the members visited the site of the discovery of Roman urns and coins, at Witham, on the property of Mr. Pattison, near that town, and of which an account had been forwarded to the Council by Mr. Neale, of Chelmsford. A notice, also, of these remains will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

GENERAL MEETING, MARCH 9TH, 1849.

JOSEPH ARDEN, Esq., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

DR. BEATTIE and JAMES PRIOR, Esq., the Auditors, delivered in the following Report:—

Report of Auditors.

“THE undersigned Auditors having examined the Accounts of the British Archaeological Association for the year 1848-9, find the entries and vouchers for the same correct and proper. The receipts of the past

year amount to the sum of £472:10:3; being an increase upon that of the preceding year by £69:19:7; and the payments amounting to £456:16,—forming also an increase upon that of the preceding year by the sum of £45:18, including a balance due to the Treasurer of £17:13. It appears, therefore, at the present time, there is a balance in favour of the Society amounting to £15:14:3, which must be attributed to the generosity of those members who have presented donations to the funds, and to the strict economy with which the affairs of the Association are conducted. When the expense attending the publication of the *Journal*, and the small amount of the Annual Contributions are considered, it is evident how essential must be the punctual discharge of the Subscriptions; and the Auditors cannot but express their regret, that many are still remaining unpaid, notwithstanding the diligence of the Collector.

“The loss by death among the members of the Association during the past year has amounted to nine, embracing some most highly valued associates. Twenty-two members have also retired from the Association; and nineteen have been removed from the list for non-payment of their Subscriptions, and the neglect of the applications made to them. There have, however, been added fifty-nine members during the past year; giving, therefore, an increase of nine in favour of the Society, over that of the deaths, exclusions, and retirements. The present number of members amounts to 480.

“The Auditors cannot close their Report without strongly urging upon the members, that their individual exertions to obtain new associates would enable the Council still further to illustrate and improve the *Journal*; which, however, as at present constituted, is certainly without its equal. Additional funds would serve to relieve the Council and Journal Committee of frequent sources of embarrassment, occasioned by a fear of carrying the expenditure of the Society beyond that of its annual income—a fear which, in some instances, might have operated unfavourably upon the *Journal*, had not the writers of some of the papers generously aided the Council by the presentation of plates and cuts. The *Journal* must be looked upon as the organ of communication of the Association, not only with its members, but also with the public, and by it the value of the Association will be estimated. The objects of the Association are truly useful and national; and cannot, therefore, be regarded as undeserving of support and encouragement.

“WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D.

“March 8th, 1849.

“JAMES PRIOR, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.”



RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, 1848-9.

RECEIPTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Life and Annual Subscriptions - - -	-	-	-
<i>Donations :-</i>			
The late W. H. Rosser, Esq.	-	5	0
T. C. Croker, Esq.	-	5	0
T. J. Pettigrew, Esq.	-	5	0
Richard Percival, Esq.	-	5	0
Sir Gardner Wilkinson	-	5	0
Sir Francis Beaufort	-	5	0
Hon. Colonel Onslow	-	5	0
Robert Stephenson, Esq., M.P.	-	5	0
William Newton, Esq.	-	1	1
C. R. Smith, Esq.	-	1	1
T. F. Best, Esq.	-	1	1
George Milner, Esq.	-	1	1
Dawson Turner, Esq.	-	1	1
William Chaffers, Esq.	-	1	1
John Barrow, Esq.	-	1	1
S. W. Stevenson, Esq.	-	1	1
William Bland, Esq.	-	1	1
Theodosius Purland, Esq.	-	1	1
William Yewd, Esq.	-	1	0
Balance in favour of the Association by the Worcester Congress	-	-	-
Sale of Journals	-	-	-
	51	10	0
	53	2	0
	52	3	3
	£ 47	10	3

PAYMENTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Printing, Illustrating, Editing, and Binding the Journal of the Association, Nos. 12 to 15 -	3	0	6
Rent of Rooms from Oct. 1847 to Dec. 1848 -	2	3	0
Postage and Advertisements - - -	1	4	3
Expenses attending Excavations, Examinations of Discoveries, and Carriage of Antiquities -	1	6	9
Messengers, Gratuities to Servants, Collector's Poundage, and other Petty Expenses -	1	3	1
Stationery and Copper-plate Printing - - -	4	9	6
Mr. Croker on account of the Warwick Congress -	5	17	6
Balance due to the Treasurer at the Audit of 1847-8 - - -	1	7	13
	£ 45	16	0

WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D.
JAMES PRIOR, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

March 8th, 1849.

The election for Officers and Council for 1849-50, then took place; and Thomas Wright, Esq., and Nathaniel Gould, Esq., being appointed Scrutators of the Lists, delivered in the following as elected:—

PRESIDENT.

THE LORD ALBERT D. CONYNGHAM, M.P., K.C.H., F.S.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SIR WM. BETHAM, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.	REV. W. F. HOPE, M.A., F.R.S.
BENJ. B. CABBELL, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.	R. MONCKTON MILNES, M.P., M.A.
SIR WM. CHATTERTON, BART.	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES HEYWOOD, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.	SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

T. CROFTON CROKER, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. | C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.

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Thanks were voted to the President and Council of the past year; to the Treasurer; to the Auditors; to the Secretaries; to the Donors of Plates and Cuts in aid of the illustration of the *Journal*; and to the Chairman, for his attention to the business of the evening.

Notices of New Publications.

MEMORIALS OF THE PAROCHIAL CHURCH, THE COLLEGIATE CHANTRY, AND
THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY, COMMONLY CALLED MORTIMER'S CHAPEL,
IN THE PARISH OF ATTLEBOROUGH, IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK. By
J. T. Barrett, D.D. Large 8vo. 1848.

ACCIDENTAL circumstances have occasioned us to defer a notice of this truly tasteful and meritorious publication; but the delay is not important, for it has seldom been our fortune to peruse a work which so completely exhausts its subject, and accurately delineates to posterity everything respecting it which is worthy of preservation. If other clergymen and dignitaries of the church, possessing the opportunities and taste of Dr. Barrett, could only be persuaded to bestow a tithe of his attention in a similar manner, our knowledge of our pious ancestors, and what they have left us, would not long remain stationary, even were there no other source of illustration attainable. Let us hope that the spirit of the age is rising in this direction; that, gradually, the temporary guardians of our churches will deeply investigate the monuments under their care, and finally examine the minutest particulars respecting them. We cannot, indeed, expect that many could follow Dr. Barrett's example in publication; but, surely, the knowledge of our Association, and its efforts, should induce all clergymen to forward complete accounts of their ecclesiastical edifices, so that, in a comparatively brief time, the more important features would be preserved in the *Journal* of the Association; while, a mass of most valuable facts, all useful for reference, would be deposited in the Society's archives, and eventually lead to a more complete and accurate classification than has yet been attempted.

The church of Attleborough presents some very early and peculiar features to the architectural student, in the tower, which is of Norman work, and which is delineated in the very excellent series of architectural plates with which this volume is enriched, as well as the other portions of the building, which receive that due attention to careful delineation such subjects require. The history of the church is given, with much interesting detail connected with the ceremonials of the Anglican church in early ages, and notices of ancient benefactors.

Of its architectural features the author thus speaks:—"The most ancient part of the church now standing is the tower, which is probably

part of the original building. It differs in its style of architecture from the nave and aisles, which are on the west side, and from the chapels on the north and south sides, which are known to have been erected, the former in the close of the thirteenth, and the latter in the fourteenth century, in being Norman, or, more correctly speaking, Anglo-Norman.

“Edward the Confessor is said to have introduced this style of architecture into England, in the erection of Westminster abbey, which, having been destroyed in the Danish wars, and but meanly restored and provided for by king Edgar and Dunstan, then bishop of London, in the year 958, was now rebuilt and royally endowed, by this monarch, before the year 1065. But whether Matthew Paris and William of Malmesbury, who both record the event of re-building, are to be understood as speaking of a new style of architecture, or of a new form or model of structure, is uncertain. Bardwell, in his *Temples, ancient and modern*, says, ‘Edward’s residence abroad had made him well acquainted with the magnificent buildings of the continent; and the intimacy which subsisted between the courts of England and Normandy enabled him to avail himself of the talents of the Norman architects, who had changed the simple parallelogram of the Saxons into the Latin cross, and raised a lantern or tower at the intersection of its arms, partly for ornament, and partly for the stability it imparted to the edifice.’ The hasty conclusions of those who infer, from the words of the above historians, that the style of Norman architecture was totally unknown in England till the time of the Conquest, are not tenable; and the honour which has been given to St. Edward is of very questionable right.

“There are plain documentary proofs that, prior to the Conquest, elaborate and extensive buildings of carved stone were erected in this country; and it is remarkable how well the descriptions of them accord in some points with what is considered to be Norman work. It is, therefore, very probable that many buildings remain, not clearly distinguishable from Norman work, which, nevertheless, were erected before the Normans had gained a footing in England.” For proof of this our author cites examples which help to dispel the prejudices which have arisen against a belief in existing Saxon works in our own country.

A very interesting discovery connected with the recent restoration of Attleborough church (which renovation seems to have led to the idea of publishing this volume) was the discovery of ancient mural paintings, which had been hidden beneath the white-wash with which the church walls had been thickly coated by more modern “beautifiers.” They appear to have been executed in the latter half of the fifteenth century, judging from the style and colouring adopted, and are beautifully re-produced in the coloured plates given in this volume. In noticing the early use of pictorial representations in sacred edifices, our author observes, “By the canons of

Celichyth, every bishop was charged, when consecrating a church, to have it portrayed on the wall of the oratory, or in a table, or even on the altars, to what saint it was dedicated. But the canon is so worded as to render it uncertain whether it was intended that this should be done by a picture or an inscription. Probably the question is silently left open to individual discretion." That such paintings, emblematic of religious faith, or descriptive of saintly legend, did, at an early period, decorate the walls of our churches to a considerable extent, the *Journal* of this Association abundantly proves, inasmuch as it has fallen to the lot of many of its members and correspondents to record the discovery of many such pictures, which had been similarly concealed beneath layers of white-wash, like those at Attleborough. The Crucifixion is one here given which had been concealed by a staircase clumsily erected against the wall on which it was painted. Another and more elaborate subject occupied the wall over the arch at the east end of the nave, and was devoted to the legend of the Cross, which, elegantly coloured and enriched with ornamental details, occupied the centre; angels on each side singing and playing, or triumphantly carrying the emblems of the Passion, in company with the prophets and saints of the Old and New Testaments.

The screen was a beautiful example of elaborate decoration, and contained well-executed paintings of saints, the Virgin Mary, and the Trinity, as well as emblems of the Passion of the Saviour, and appropriate mottos, all tending to show with what a profuse hand our forefathers delighted to decorate the church.

The very curious historical notices of ancient church ceremonies given in this volume, the careful and elaborate manner in which every fact connected with the history and peculiarities of the building is stated, as well as the genealogical and biographical notices of the personages connected with its foundation and history, render this volume one of peculiar value, and make it a welcome addition to the topography of a county which is perhaps the richest mine in England for the ecclesiologist, whether we consider the number, style, or interest of the churches contained within its boundaries.

F. W. F.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF CARPENTERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON; compiled chiefly from records in their possession. By Edward Basil Jupp, Clerk of the Company. London: Pickering, 1848.

GREAT praise is due to the author of this work for the trouble and pains he has been at, in searching the records of this company, and bringing before the public the interesting extracts with which his book abounds; and it would be well if,—now he has set so praiseworthy an example,—others in official positions, having the same opportunities, would devote their leisure to a similar purpose. This, let us hope, will not be lost sight of by other companies, who also have in their possession archives of very great interest.

Mr. Jupp tells us, “he was led by mere accident to engage in a task, from the labour and responsibility of which he would have shrunk, had he viewed it with more deliberation. The circumstance of the discovery by a workman of some ancient paintings, concealed by canvas, in the hall of the company, led to many inquiries, both as to the date of these productions, and the former condition and importance of the ancient company to which they belong.”

The circumstance here alluded to, was communicated to the Council of the British Archæological Association, who immediately took prompt means to have careful drawings made of them, which appeared in the *Journal*, vol. i, pages 275-86, accompanied by a descriptive account, and much curious matter connected with the company, by Mr. F. W. Fairholt. These engravings are reproduced, and the description, which Mr. Jupp considered “would be an act of temerity to attempt to improve on”, has, by permission of the Association, been copied into his work. These paintings were, no doubt, purposely concealed, to preserve them from the fanatical zeal of the Puritans in 1645, who had ordered the destruction of all such pictures as had the representation of the Virgin Mary, or the Second Person of the Trinity, upon them. Hence, the frescoes which formerly adorned the walls of our churches were covered by the brush of the dauber, of which we occasionally catch a glimpse on the removal of the numerous coatings of whitewash for reparations and other purposes.

The records of the Carpenters' Company present a tolerably unbroken series from the 17th Henry VI (1438) up to the present time; the records having been fortunately preserved, as the ravages of the great fire were stayed before reaching the hall.

In the chapter on religious observances, we have an account of the early state-palls, or hearse-cloths, of velvet and silk, embroidered with gold, formerly used at funerals of the brethren, which were possessed by

all the civic companies ; some being still in existence. A card of invitation, issued on one of these occasions by the Armourers Company, is here given.



In the general history, we have several accounts of the "ridyngs" on the entrance of Henry VII and other royal personages into the city ; and on similar state occasions, when the companies or crafts took their stations in Chepe, arrayed in their liveries, the houses being hung with rich cloth of gold, velvets, and silks, or when they attended royalty in the state barge along the Thames. The entries relating to the setting of the watch on Midsummer-eve, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, are curious ; but our limits will not allow us to give extracts. We have a description of the first state lottery in 1567, towards which the carpenters were compelled to pay £15 : the prizes being plate, tapestry, etc.

The following receipt on the purchase of wheat, which the city companies were called upon to contribute, towards the store of 5,000 quarters of grain, in 1573, and towards which the carpenters contributed £52 : 10, is curious, on account of its symbolical signature, at a time when very



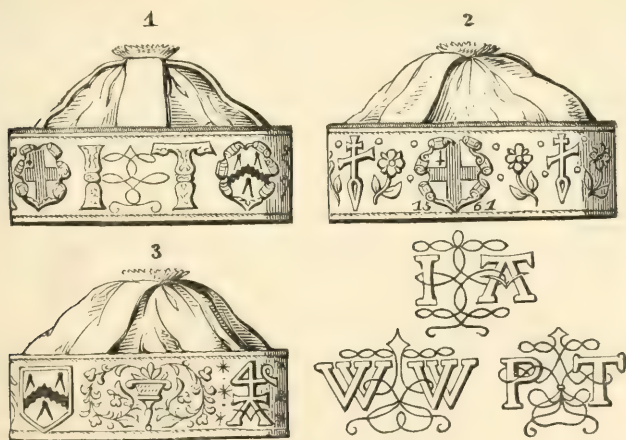
The mark of
Robert Myles.

few men could write their own names, but substituted some such arbitrary mark as the following. On the public entry of James I, in 1603, the attendants were regaled as follows : — " Paid for drinke and pippens for the ryders and footemen uppon the waye when they went to meete the kinge, iij*s*. iij*d*." We have several instances of the liberality of the citizens. At

the restoration of Charles II, they gave substantial proofs of their attachment and loyalty in a present of £10,000 to the king, and £2,000 to the dukes,—the Carpenters Company giving £60 as their share, and ordering “the banners and armes of the Commonwealth to be forthwith taken down, and that the king’s armes and other banners be provided and sett up in the roome thereof.”

The social meetings are described in detail, the articles provided at the election feasts and their cost, as well as numerous accounts of civic hospitality, according to the circumstances of the times—from the costly entertainment on which was expended the sum of £50; or when the luxurious item, “Paid for a quarte of rose-water, xij*d*.” crept in, to the occasion when “in regard of the great increase of the plague; without a sermon, dinner, musicke, and other ceremonies, *only a cup of wine and Naple biskate.*”

The ceremonies observed at the annual elections of the master and wardens, are treated of at length; and the ancient custom of crowning them, as practised for more than three centuries; the very caps are still in use; and we are enabled to give a representation of these relics of antiquity. The master’s cap is of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and silver lace; it bears the date 1561. The wardens’ crowns are of the same material.



Nos. 1 and 2. Front and back view of the master's cap.—No. 3. A warden's cap, with the initials inscribed upon others.

In 1643, an entry occurs, shewing for what reasons many ancient pieces of plate were melted down, which accounts in a great measure for the scarcity of such specimens at the present day. It relates to the weekly assessment of £10,000 imposed upon the city of London, towards the sup-

port of the war, whereby the Carpenters Company were compelled to part with their plate to meet the enormous demand :—" 1643, Maij 17. Laid out at a meeting at the hall, in adviseing whether wee should sell our plate or noe, iij*s.* ix*d.*" " Rec. for plate sould of the Companyes to pay severall weekes assessments imposed uppon the hall, lxxxv*li.*" And a few years after, the Parliamentary forces being billeted upon them, alarmed the carpenters for the security of their plate on the occasion, and the remaining portion was sold for three score pounds and one shilling.

The master's and wardens' cups were, however, preserved, and are still in use ; the former was presented in 1611, by John Reeve, twice master of the company. This, and one of the warden's cups of the same date is here given.

The fines inflicted by the court upon its members are amusing ; a few specimens will suffice to give an idea of their character :—In 1556. " Rsd. of John Gryffen a fyne, for that he came to the hall in his coote and his lether aprone, v*jd.*" " Rsd. of Master Abbott a fyne, for that he held not his peess before the master had knockyd iij tymes, v*jd.*" " Rsd. of Frances Stelerag a fyne, for yll words yt his wyffe gave to John Dorant, i*s.*" " Rsd. of John Dorant a fyne, for yll words yt he gave Mystris Frances, xv*jd.*" By this it will be seen that the members were frequently made answerable for the " yll words" and indiscretions of their wives.

The Carpenters Company did not altogether forget their poorer brethren. An annual gift from an unknown benefactor, proved to be from one " Richard

Wyatt, deceased, which is the gent. unknown". He left by will in 1619, some property to endow almshouses at Godalming. A singular piece of economy, and an ingenious scheme for providing the inhabitants with an inexpensive but adequate wardrobe, occurs about a century afterwards, illustrating the old proverb, " cut your coat according to your cloth":—" Ordered that the poor men in Mr. Wyatt's hospital, at Godalming, have each of them a new coat and breeches every year for the future, and that they be each of them allowed two shillings for converting their old coats



into waistcoats, by which method they will have a comfortable coat, waistcoat, and breeches, every year, instead of a coat every third year."

We must now conclude this cursory review of the contents of Mr. Jupp's interesting work, earnestly recommending it to the notice of the historian and antiquary. We congratulate the author on this his successful *début*; and hope it may prove an incentive to others to follow his example, having the same opportunities of inspecting the records of the city companies, thereby giving to the public much useful and valuable information, which has been so many centuries confined within their almost inaccessible repositories.

W. C.

THE ANCIENT SCULPTURED MONUMENTS OF THE COUNTY OF ANGUS,
INCLUDING THOSE AT MEIGLE, IN PERTHSHIRE, AND ONE AT FORDOUN,
IN THE MEARNS. Edinburgh: 1848. 23 plates. Elephant folio.

THE vast expense which has been incurred in presenting to the antiquarian world engravings, on so large a scale and so well executed, must necessarily limit the circulation of this most valuable work. The liberal and anonymous author¹ states, that the work was commenced some years ago, and would probably not have been resumed, but by the advice of Herr Worsaae and Mr. Innes,—a fresh instance of the good results of the mission of our friend and associate of Copenhagen to this country. When we see an individual accomplish so much towards making known one class of antiquities of a single district, we are forcibly reminded of the treasures of antiquity yet imperfectly made known to us, which are strewn about the kingdom, and could only be rendered accessible to many by means of publications such as those undertaken at the expense of government; and we trust the present example may, in this respect, operate beneficially.

The sculptured stones represented in this work are portions of crosses and of sepulchral monuments, ranging, apparently, from the sixth or seventh to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the greater number being probably of an intermediate date. They are very frequently elaborately carved with interlaced patterns, more or less complicated, with richly ornamented crosses; and, what to us is more uncommon, with circles, connected by straight lines, which are crossed by lines in form of the letter *x* placed sideways (*z*), and terminating like a spear with foliated sides. Cuts alone could convey a correct notion of the peculiarities of these ornaments, which, it may be remarked, are accurately sculptured, and those which cover the

¹ The volume was presented to the Association by Mr. Chalmers, to whom we infer the public is indebted for publishing the work.

crosses are cut with geometrical precision. Some of the sides of the crosses have frequently representations of men and animals, most of which are very rudely executed, so much so, that it is often difficult to guess at the subjects. Some seem intended for hunting scenes: others have men on horseback, armed with a circular shield and a spear; and there is a group of a man surrounded by animals, probably meant for that favourite subject with the early Christians, Daniel in the den of lions.

There is a peculiar ornament in the corners of the lower cross, in plate XXII. which may be compared with that on the monumental stone discovered at Hartlepool, in the *Journal*, vol. i, p. 195: they are both unquestionably of the tenth century; and to this period may be assigned the three figures upon the other side of the former monument. They are remarkable for a Byzantine style of art, and for the two circular fibulae or ouches on either shoulder of the first and third figure.

The plate of silver ornaments found in a tumulus at Norries' Law, in Fife, in 1817, are of the highest interest, and cause regret that the details of the discovery are not supplied. The singular device or ornamentation referred to above, occurs on one of these personal decorations, and may suggest the conclusion, that many of the figures connected with crosses upon early Christian monuments are purely fanciful, capriciously applied, and not intended to be in any way symbolical.

C. R. S.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL, CASTELLATED, AND DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE OF ENGLAND, FROM THE NORMAN ERA TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Illustrated by the best existing examples in the County of Essex. By JAMES HADFIELD. London: John Williams and Co. Folio.

This fine work appears to have been set on foot by its enthusiastic author, not as a history of the architecture of the middle ages of the county of Essex, but for the purpose of pointing out the neglected, and sometimes little known beauties of existing medieval art; and, from the careful manner in which its details are executed, and the beauty of its lithography, it will not only be very useful as a study, but acceptable in the drawing room. The author has some very stringent remarks on the patching and plastering of (it is to be hoped) by-gone times; and those who have the care of edifices will do well to consider the strictures upon "the wanton hand of spoliation", which every antiquary will be interested in. At Roxwell, it is said, the broken and misplaced fragments clearly evince that the windows of this church were once filled with painted glass of the richest description. At Willingale Spain, the north doorway is entirely composed of Roman



bricks, and "there can be no doubt whatever that the whole shell is Saxon. "The walls were certainly built long before the conquest." The north door itself is covered with ancient iron-work of an interesting and elegant description, which is either late Saxon or early Norman; "but its condition clearly testifies that the inhabitants are not possessed of much love for this remarkable relic of antiquity." Of Chipping-hill, Witham, it is said, "the whole walls are composed of rough flints and Roman bricks." In the once glorious church of Danbury, many valuable features are buried amongst the pews, while not a fragment of the stained glass which once filled its windows remains. On the plate is given a ground plan of the adjacent ruined priory of Bicknaere. The lower part of the tower of Boreham church "is Saxon, and was a complete tower of itself; and without doubt formed a part of one of the churches built by St. Cedd, in the year 653." The nave and tower of the church of White Colne are Norman, probably built in the time of William I. "The south door is remarkable for its plainness." Rickman would unhesitatingly have pronounced it Saxon; nevertheless, although of that opinion, the author will not speak positively on the subject: the chancel-arch is like the doorway. The beautiful little church of All Saints', Hutton, is split and much injured by the numerous graves which have been sunk close to its foundations; and the remains of a fine octagonal font, turned upside down, serve as a pedestal to support a modern bowl. Colchester is despatched in too few lines; the only thing noticed is the south doorway of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene;¹ At Sandon, a Tudor pulpit of carved wood, deservedly occupies no less than five plates of illustration, and is a remarkably fine specimen of its period: the author might have found one also well worthy of his attention at Wenden. At Little Baddow, Roman bricks form part of the material of the exterior of that church. There are two arched recesses in the south wall; one of them contains a full-length effigy, beautifully carved in wood.² In Great Waltham church, some valuable remains of the rood-loft screen remain, and a complete forest of oak benches, with square ends, filled in with good tracery. The great singularity of All Saints', Maldon, is that of its tower being triangular; the east window of this church is the finest in the county, of the decorated period of Edward I. Great Coggeshall church, an interior view of which makes an admirable frontispiece to the work, comes in for a great share of commendation, few churches of the perpendicular period being equal to it. The stalls have been replaced by tasteless pews. The chancel of Tiltey church is stated to be one of the most accomplished pieces of architecture in the kingdom, of the decorated style of Edwards I and II; but the greatest glory of the church is the east

¹ The author is referred to vol. iii, p. 19, of this Journal, for further particulars relating to Colchester.

² Somewhat after the manner of those at Hildersham, in Cambridgeshire, in the hon. Mr. Neville's last work.



window, and the apex of the gable above it is crowned with one of the richest and most beautiful crosses in the kingdom. The author gives six plates to Castle Hedingham, and supposes it to have been "built by Aubrey de Vere, first earl of Oxford, to whom the manor was given by William the Conqueror; and the time of its erection is believed to have been between the years 1088 and 1107, during the reigns of the two Williams. It is quite certain it was finished before 1151, and a careful examination of all its beautiful parts will be sufficient to satisfy any one acquainted with Norman architecture, that the earlier date is the most probable." The dates assigned to Little Leigh's priory, is that of Edwards IV and V. The work finishes by eight plates of the details of Beeleigh Abbey; and the author says there are other relics of great practical value, which he hopes to publish at some future time. Thus he has given details of what he considers the most remarkable and the most beautiful features of the churches and buildings he is acquainted with; but still the work hardly comes up to the profession of its title concerning Essex; as some of the oldest, and certainly the most beautiful, are to be found in the northern part of the county, whither the author appears not to have directed his steps; nevertheless, the work will be much valued by the architect, antiquary, and amateur, and doubtless will find its way into many of the libraries of Essex and elsewhere.

C. J.

THE UNIVERSITY ATLAS; OR HISTORICAL MAPS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.
London: Edward Gover, Princes-street, Bedford-row. Folio.

IN a former number of our *Journal* (vol. iii, p. 193), we drew the attention of our members to a specimen of this work, as proposed to be issued as "The Compound Historical and Comparative Atlas". The work now appears under the title as above expressed, and the first part has just appeared. It consists of two maps, one of ENGLA LAND, of the Anglo-Saxon period, the other of England, Anglo-Norman period; and the execution of these, together with the most useful index appended to them, fully justifies the approbation we bestowed on the specimen plate. We heartily recommend this work as deserving of patronage.

P.

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

NUMISMATICS.

The Numismatic Chronicle, No. XLIII. Contents:—I. On the African Gold Currency of the Jolaf Tribe, and the Silver Fish-hook Money of Ceylon. By W. B. Dickenson.—II. Coin of Valentinian, with the Phoenix. By H. L. Tovey.—III. Coins found in the Isle of Man (with plates).

Revue Numismatique, 1848, No. VI. Contents:—I. Monnaie d'or d'Alexandre, empereur de Constantinople; par M. de Cadavène.—II. Recherches sur la numismatique du comté de Flandre, considérée dans les monnaies noires durant la suzeraineté Française, 2ème article (pl. xvii); par M. Rouyer.—III. Méreaux et jetons de Villefranche-sur-Saône en Beaujolais (pl. xviii); par M. Morel-Fatio.—1849, No. I. Contents:—I. Médaille de bronze de *Massalia*, inédite; par M. le baron de Crazannes.—II. Sur les Marques Ponderales des monnaies antiques, Auréus inédit de Constant I; par M. Chabouillet.—III. Ve Lettre à M. de Sauley sur les plus anciens monumens numismatiques de la série Mérovingienne; par M. Ch. Lenormant.—IV. Lettre à M. Lecointre-Dupont, sur les monnaies Normandes inédites; par M. A. de Longperier.—V. De la Rareté et du Prix des Médailles Romaines; par M. le baron Leon d'Harvey de St. Denys. Paris, Rollin. Curt, London.

Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Hainaut. Par Rénier Chalon. Bruxelles. 4to. 1848. Curt, London.

Notice sur Monnaies Françaises composant la collection de M. J. Rousseau, accompagnée d'indications historiques et géographiques. Par Adrien de Longperier. Paris, 1848.

MIEVEAL ANTIQUITIES.

Notices of Remarkable Medieval Coins, mostly unpublished. With Engravings. By John Lindsay, Esq., Barrister at Law. Cork and London. 4to. 1849.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Revue Archéologique, 1848-9. Contents:—No. VIII. Notice sur la tour de Crest, par M. J. Courtet.—Vase d'Actéon, explication par M. E. Vinet.—Antiquités d'Orléansville, par M. le Dr. Judas.—Notre-Dame de l'Epine, par M. Pinard.—Lettre de M. G. Zahn à M. Letronne sur une peinture de Pompei.—Société d'Archéologie Lorraine, fondée à Nancy.—Etudes sur quelques monnaies Carlovingiennes, par M. A. de Longperier.—No. IX. Remarques sur quelques groupes hiéroglyphiques, à propos de l'ouvrage de M. Lanci, par M. Samuel Birch.—Devis et marchés passés par la Ville de Paris pour l'entrée solennelle de Charles IX en 1571, publiés par M. L. Douet-d'Arq.—Recherches sur le nom et le caractère du Neptune Phénicien, par M. A. Maury.—Note sur une statue antique en marbre pentélique, par M. Ed. Barry.—Le gladiateur Dimachæros, c'est-à-dire armé de deux poignards, par M. Letronne.—Note sur les sirènes de l'ancien évêché de

- Beauvais, par M. Cartier.—Observations de MM. Letronne et A. de Longpérier sur des médailles et inscriptions latines qu'on dit avoir été trouvées à Orleansville. Musées du Louvre.—No. X. Devis et marchés passés par la Ville de Paris pour l'entrée solennelle de Charles IX (suite).—Observations sur la divinité Egyptienne que les Grecs avaient assimilée à leur Pan, par M. Maury.—Numismatique byzantine, monnaie inédite attribuée à l'usurpateur Vitalien, par M. V. Langlois.—Les templiers de Metz, par M. Sauley.—Notice sur M. Letronne, garde général des archives nationales.—Discours prononcé aux funérailles de M. Letronne, par M. J. Quicherat.—No. XI. Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Letronne, par M. A. Maury.—Les collections d'objets d'art de M. B. Delessert fils, par M. L. de Laborde.—Lettre de M. Chaudruc de Crazannes à M. Letronne, sur deux monuments relatifs au culte de Jupiter.—Devis et marchés passés par la Ville de Paris pour l'entrée solennelle de la reine femme de Charles IX.—Note sur la formation du médaillier du musée de Limoges, par M. Maurice Ardant.—Examen d'une bulle de Bertrand de Baux, prince d'Orange, précédé de quelques observations sur l'usage des sceaux en plomb, par M. A. Deloye.—Sur un des noms de l'Adonis de l'île de Chypre, par M. A. Maury.—No. XII. Etudes sur les anciennes notations musicales de l'Europe, par M. T. Nisard.—Un temple et un évêché apocryphes, par M. J. Courtet.—Nouvelle interprétation d'un bas-relief en ivoire, décorant le livre de prières de Charles le Chauve, par M. P. Durand.—Sur les poids de villes au moyen-âge, par M. Chaudruc de Crazannes.—Mémoire sur la commune de Saint-Germain-le-vieux-Corbeil, par M. Pinard.—Médaille inédite de Bela, fils de Geysa, roi de Hongrie, par M. V. Langlois. 8vo. Paris, Leleux. London, Curt, Lisle-street.
- Géographie du moyen-âge, étudiée par Joachim Lelewel. Atlas composé de trente-cinq planches. Bruxelles. 1849.
- Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes. Mémoire sur l'Industrie primitive et les Arts à leur origine par M. Boucher de Perthes. Avec 80 Planches représentant 1600 figures. Paris: 1849. 8vo.

NEW BOOKS.

- Original Papers: published under the direction of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. Vol. ii, Part 3. Norwich: 1849.
- Curiosities of Glass Making: with Details of the Processes and Productions of Ancient and Modern Ornamental Glass Manufacture. By Aspley Pellatt. London: Bogue. 1849.
- Notes on Cheltenham; Ancient and Medieval. By W. H. Gomonde. 8vo. Cheltenham: 1849. (*Privately printed.*)
- The Memorial and Case of the Clerici-Laici or Lay-Clerks of Canterbury Cathedral. By Charles Sandys, F.S.A. 8vo. 1848. (J. R. Smith.)
- Early in April will be published, An Account of Bottesham Church and Anglesey Abbey. Architectural description by Professor Willis; Historical Description by Rev. J. J. Smith. Illustrated with Engravings on copper and wood, from Drawings by E. Cole.
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RESTORATIONS IN PROGRESS.

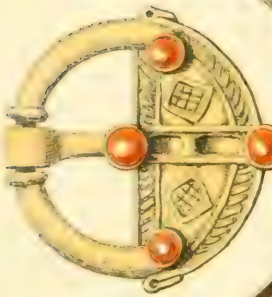
The subscription entered into for the restoration of the Norman tower at Bury St. Edmund's, is, we regret to see, insufficient by about £300, to defray the expenses attendant upon it. The restoration is complete, and it remains only to guard it from injury. Great credit is due to those who have carried out this excellent work, and we trust that all those who have not yet subscribed, but who feel an interest in the preservation of so interesting a remain, will not fail to forward their donations, either to the bankers in Bury St. Edmund's, or to Mr. Tymms, of Well-street, the zealous and intelligent honorary secretary.

Mr. Knoeker, of Dover, is zealously exerting himself to bring about the restoration of the windows of the "Maison Dieu" at that place, and which has lately been purchased by the corporation. This hospital, erected in 1213, by Robert de Burgh, earl of Kent, was for the accommodation of pilgrims going to and returning from the continent. The church adjoining is of the time of Henry III, A.D. 1227. We are glad to find that the corporation of Dover are sensibly alive to the interest connected with the "Maison Dieu", and laudably exerting themselves to restore it in a manner worthy of a place possessing such historical associations; but as funds beyond the means possessed by the corporation will be requisite to effect this object, they appeal to the lovers of archæology for their assistance on this occasion.

LOCAL MUSEUMS OF ANTIQUITIES.

A Museum of Antiquities, at Caerleon, is now in the course of formation, under the patronage of the bishop of Llandaff. Sir Digby Mackworth, bart. had granted the town hall for this purpose; but it has been found necessary to build a place to receive the many Roman remains found in this locality, in which a museum is so highly desirable. Nothing can contribute more to foster and promote a proper spirit of antiquarian research, than the establishment of local museums. Colchester, as will be seen in this *Journal*, is actively engaged in carrying out a similar object to that of Caerleon: at Chester also, another is in the course of formation; and it is to be hoped that the nobility and gentry of these places will subscribe liberally to so good a purpose; at the same time that it is well to state, that donations will be received from any who feel anxious to promote the objects intended.





THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

JULY 1849.

ON FIBULÆ IN THE MUSEUM OF THE
HON. R. C. NEVILLE, F.S.A.

THE interesting and rare examples of Saxon and Danish fibulæ, which I have the pleasure to bring before the notice of the Association, were recently purchased at the Stowe sale, for the hon. R. C. Neville. They had been catalogued, that is to say, the larger one, and another precisely similar, as *scales*, and the other as “a British brooch”, respecting the history of the latter no information could be obtained; but, fortunately, they were secured for a gentleman whose good taste and intelligence have thus been the means of rescuing from the casualties of a public sale objects of the first consideration in the Anglo-Saxon department of antiquities, and whose liberality has furnished the accompanying illustrative plate. We have not the good fortune to know anything of the history of the fibulæ termed *scales*, beyond the meagre information conveyed in the statement of their having been found with the bones of a human skeleton, in a stone quarry, at Ashendon, Bucks, in 1817; and, therefore, we are deprived of the assistance which a record of circumstances attending discoveries will often afford in the examination of objects of doubtful origin and of difficult appropriation.

We must, in the absence of such evidence, call to our aid testimony of another description, which, although not so complete as could be wished, will go far to determine

to what period and people we are to assign Mr. Neville's fibulæ.

The interior fabric resembles, to a certain extent, that of the Anglo-Saxon fibulæ found in Kent, particularly in the setting of the coloured glass over gold-foil. But there are in other respects many points of difference: the Kent varieties are flat and thick; are more richly decorated with stones and glass, interspersed with gold filigree work. Among the numerous examples preserved in the cabinets of our colleagues, Dr. Faussett and Mr. Rolfe, and in that of our President, we have not an instance of a concave fibula; still there is in general character such analogy, that we cannot refer them to epochs very remote from each other, nor to people having different origin or customs. We learn that the Ashendon fibulæ were found with a human skeleton. This is almost conclusive as to the interment being of the Saxon period; nearly all the Kentish fibulæ have been discovered by the side of skeletons, at places remote from churches, but not always far distant from Roman burial-places.

In 1843, Mr. Akerman exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries a fibula of bronze, found at Stone, in Bucks, which closely resembles fig. 1 of our plate, being precisely of the same size, concave, and in style of ornamentation analogous to that under consideration, differing only in details.

In Mr. Neville's fibulæ the glass ornaments are disposed cross-ways, as are the triangular plates in Mr. Akerman's, in the central compartment of which is also a cross. On this fibula, Mr. Akerman observes:¹—"It is of unusually large size, and bears such evident marks of Byzantine origin, that it cannot be supposed to be of English workmanship. The cross within the nimbus engraved upon it, appears to be modelled from that which invariably accompanies the head of the Saviour on the coins of the emperors of Constantinople; and even the concave form of the fibula itself may possibly have been derived from the *nummi scyphati*, or cup-shaped money, so common after the reign of Basilius II,—such a shape being well calculated to protect the gilding, with which it appears to have

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 545.

been originally covered. There is still further evidence of the Byzantine origin of this relic:—the small cross within the inner circle is divided into minute compartments, very much in the manner of the embroidery on the robes of the emperors, as they are figured on their coins. The fibula, in all probability, belonged to an ecclesiastic of the eleventh century; and I have endeavoured to ascertain its probable date, because the discovery of other ancient relics in the neighbourhood may lead to some misapprehension and confusion on the part of the local antiquary. A few weeks since, some labourers engaged in widening the high road just below the village of Stone, discovered, at the depth of about four feet, several skeletons of men and horses, among which was an obliterated coin with the head of Magnentius. Although this piece probably circulated long after it was struck, there can be no reason to suppose it, or the other remains, to be any-way connected with the fibula now exhibited, which is clearly of a much later period.”

The appropriation of the Stone fibula is, unfortunately, not assisted by any consecutive links in the chain of comparison; as Mr. Akerman remarks, no evidence is supplied to connect it with the skeletons and coin of Magnentius; but, at the same time, it is possible they might have been of coeval deposit, as seems proved by comparison with other analogous examples, found under circumstances more favourable for comparison.

In vol. ii, p. 54, and vol. iv, p. 53, of this *Journal*, are two specimens of these cup-shaped fibulæ. Both of them were discovered in burial-places in Gloucestershire, associated with remains which combine to induce us to assign them to the earlier Saxons. The peculiarities which distinguished these cemeteries from the Roman and from Christian modes of sepulture, were as clearly recognized as they are in the contents of the Kentish Saxon graves, and both corresponded sufficiently to demonstrate in the first place, that they were to be referred to the same people or nation; and in the second, that there were certain peculiarities in the weapons and ornaments which denoted that they belonged to distinct tribes. Thus, the swords agree in length and in material with those of the Kentish graves; they differ in the ornamentation of the sheaths and the handles;

the bosses of the shields of the Gloucestershire graves vary in shape from those found in the east and south of England; but they assimilate in other respects; and the fibulæ, namely, those heretofore published in our *Journal*, that found at Stone, and the two beautiful specimens now in Mr. Neville's museum, have no corresponding types in any which have been found in Kent, as far as our experience goes. They appear, in short, to illustrate and confirm most satisfactorily the account given us by Bede, of the gradual occupation of Britain by three distinct Teutonic tribes. Mr. Syer Cuming draws our attention to the resemblance between the rude heads in Mr. Neville's fibulæ, and those on the secattæ, in plates I and II, Ruding, figs. 25 and 7. The similitude is obvious, and the origin of both in Byzantine art will be recognized, on comparing them with the imperial effigies on the coins of Focas, Heraclius, Constantine Pogonatus, and others of the seventh century. It may be also remarked, that on the coins of this period and somewhat later, two circular fibulæ appear together upon the shoulder; and this peculiarity is to be noted in connexion with the statement previously alluded to respecting the discovery of those under consideration.

C. ROACH SMITH.

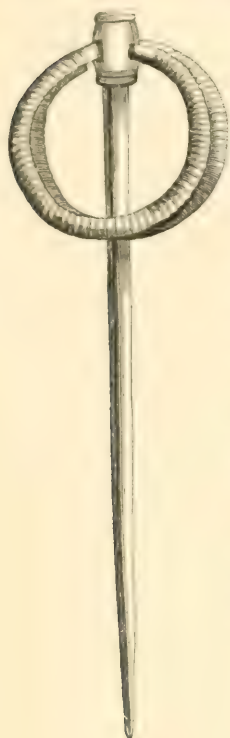
THE fibula which forms fig. 2 of our plate is evidently the work of a later period than that in which the one just described was fabricated. It is of bronze, but it still retains marks of having been silvered. It is rudely ornamented with lozenges and diagonal lines, something like the twisted strands of a rope. Four receptacles for ornamental stones appear on the surface, which are filled with pieces of amber. The pin, unlike that which must have been affixed to the cup-shaped fibula, and which did not project beyond the outer rim of the brooch,—a distinctive peculiarity in Anglo-Saxon ornaments of this kind,—is here of great length, and the ornament which is appended to the upper part hangs freely from it. These fibulæ are strikingly peculiar in their form and construction, and appear to have been the favourite adornments of a race not analogous to the Roman, Byzantine, or Saxon tribes.

Examples of these fibulæ are found in the north of England, in Scotland, and most frequently in Ireland. In a very valuable addition to our pictured histories of the olden time (*The Sculptured Monuments of the County of Angus*),¹ a fibula is engraved, which is particularly curious, as it probably exhibits the earliest form of this peculiar style. The ornamental portion is contained in a sort of half circle affixed to the head of the pin, which is about six inches in length; the prevailing style of its decoration is of that involuted kind of ornament termed Runic, and which may lead us to fix the date of their fabrication in the sixth or seventh century. They are described as “rivalling in perfection the finest works of modern silversmiths”; and were found at Norries-Law in 1819, along with portions of armour and silver ornaments, which display much elegance of design, with great evidence of primitive tastes. These fixed heads of pins, or brooches, gave way to the pendulous kind at a little later period; and they seem to have been “peculiar to Ireland and Scotland, in both of which countries they abound”, says Mr. Chalmers. In a paper, published in the volume of proceedings of this Association at the Gloucester Congress, I descanted on the peculiarities of the early Irish fibulæ, and illustrated my remarks with many specimens, engraved from examples which fell under my notice when visiting the sister isle. Mr. Neville’s fibula presents some variety in its features to any there engraved, but its general similarity of style will be observed. The collection which

¹ This costly work is published at the sole expense of a private gentleman (T. Chalmers, esq.), who has not even recorded his name in its pages, and presented by him to the Bannatyne Club. If other gentlemen would follow this example, our country would not want local histories; or its antiquarian discoveries escape unrecorded. When such tasks are now undertaken, they have generally to be done by some enthusiastic student, whose time is his only fortune, and whose labours ensure him the loss of it, with the annoyance of feeling that his work, however well done, has been a thankless and unremunerative task. There is, perhaps, no country where large

fortunes are more common in the hands of private country gentlemen than our own; and the sums that are squandered on horses and hounds, or paid ungrudgingly in wine-merchants’ bills, might surely be now and then devoted more worthily to the pursuits of literature and science, which would place their names and memories in a purer and better light than the records of the race-course and the sporting calendar can offer. When we find men with little wealth or leisure doing so much for the onward progress of science, we must confess to a feeling of frequent disappointment when we think of those who possess both, but do so little.

Mr. Crofton Croker has with laudable zeal brought together, illustrative of his native country, enables me to add another illustration of the taste for these fibulæ in ancient



Ireland. In this instance the circular pendant is formed of a twisted piece of brass, granulated like a cable, or probably, in imitation of the ancient *torc*,—that primitive and popular ornament of the Celtic tribes,—which was worn in Ireland at a much more recent period than would be imagined.¹ I should look upon this fibula as a more modern and simpler form of the old national brooch of Ireland; which, from being originally fixed, became pendulous, and went out of use in the form here delineated. Mr. Neville's may probably be the work of the eighth or ninth century, and have belonged to one of the northern tribes.

I have only to remark, that the engravings represent these curious relics of early art of the exact size of the originals.

F. W. FAIRHOLT.

¹ Remembrance of this ancient custom in the days

“When Malachi wore the collar of gold
He had won from the proud invader”—

was preserved by the peasantry in the twisted withes of rushes worn round the neck and arm.

ON PHONIC HORNS.

ABRIDGED FROM PAPERS READ BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION.

THE earliest musical instruments were, undoubtedly, constructed with materials hollowed by nature; and such materials appear to have been long employed by the ancients, before the art of boring wood, or casting metal pipes, was discovered. This assertion receives confirmation from the names which are bestowed upon certain instruments. Thus, we read of the *avena*, or pipe, formed of a single oaten stalk; the *calamus*, or reed pipe; the *concha*, *tromba marina*, or sea-trumpet, made of the murex shell; and the *tibia*, or flute, formed of the shank-bone of an animal; of the invention of which, Hyginus says:

“Minerva tibias dicitur prima ex osse cervino fecisse.”

That these names were bestowed on these several instruments, not from any resemblance they might bear to certain objects, but from the material of which they were formed, is a fact proved by the most indisputable evidence. Pipes made of green corn are mentioned in the *Romance of the Rose*; and Chaucer speaks of them in his third *Book of Fame*; and the straw of the oat is still formed into pipes by our own shepherd boys.

In the British Museum there are two small Egyptian pipes of reed. The *hāb*, or flute of Nubia, is so called from being made of reed. The Welsh peasants fashion the *cegr* into pipes. And the *zampogna* of the Italians, the *licháka* of the Bichuánas, the *quama* of the Caribbees, and the *vivo* of the Tahitians, are made of reeds and canes. But in the islands of the Southern ocean, we not only find the *monaulos* of antiquity, but the many-piped *syrix*, the invention of which is attributed by Virgil (*Ecl.* ii, 32) to the god Pan. In Syria, the *syrix* is still a pastoral instrument. The *tibia*, or flute, formed of the shank-bone of an animal, is in common use among many nations. Busby, in his *Anecdotes of Music*, says, that the Kalmucks have a kind of hautboy, made of a human shin-bone, with a copper vent-hole and a mouth-piece. And the shin-bones of slaughtered enemies are manufactured into flutes by the Brazilians, Chilians, and other tribes of South

America. The Bushmen, Bichuanas, Zoolus, and other Kaffer hordes of Southern Africa, employ the tibia of one of the smaller antelopes, or that of the goat or sheep, for making flutes, pipes, or what may more properly be denominated, whistles; the bone is cut off square at the extremities, and blown into in the manner of the syrinx, or as children do into the pipe of a key. Although these rude *tubæ* are incapable of yielding notes worthy of the celestial Minerva, they are, nevertheless, so many proofs confirmatory of the belief, that the first flute was formed of the *tibia* of an animal.

The *concha*, or *tromba marina*, first sounded, according to Hyginus, by Tyrrhenus, and placed in the hands of Triton by Ovid (*Mét.* lib. i, 333) and Virgil (*Æn.* x, 209), is said by Casaubon to have been a murex-shell; and the murex-shell trumpet (*Triton variegatus*) is still used by the Tahitians and Maories, which probably resembles the κρηυξ, the shell of the cryer or herald, mentioned by Athenæus (lib. iii, p. 86). And it will be remembered, that among the *chowda ratny* (fourteen gems), churned out of the ocean by Kurmavataara after the Deluge, one was the *sánka* or *chank* (*turbinella rapa*), a shell which had the power of conferring victory on the warrior that should sound it. This shell of magic power is generally held by Vishnu. These shell-trumpets are used at the festivals and in the temples of the Hindûs. The beautiful white surface of one now before us resembles porcelain. The apex of the shell is removed, to form the embouchure, and the whirls are engraved with a duplex groove.

The horn was a military instrument of the early Romans; for Dionysius of Halicarnassus states (vii, 59), upon the authority of Fabius and Livy (lib. i, cap. 43), that Servius Tullius, who commenced his reign 578 B.C., ordained, that two whole centuries should consist of trumpeters, *blowers of the horn*, etc.; and these, without any other instruments, should sound the charge. Vegetius, who flourished in the latter half of the fourth century, mentions in his treatise *De Re Militari*, that the Romans had trumpets made of the horns of the urus, with silver mouth-pieces.¹

¹ In Fienes, Newgate, or the Constable's Tower, Dover Castle, is preserved "an old horn, which tradition, to enhance its worth, tells us was used by the Romans at the building of the

castle, to give notice to the workmen when to begin and leave their work." —See *A Short Historical Sketch of the Town of Dover*, 1823, p. 121.

The cornute trumpet was an instrument well known to the primeval inhabitants of the Britannic islands. In the British Museum is a brass coin of Cunobeline, upon the reverse of which is the figure of a centaur winding a horn. This may only be a copy of some foreign coin, and therefore regarded as no great authority for a national custom. But we learn from an ancient British poem, supposed to have been composed by Anuerin (and given in Davies' *Myth*. p. 576), that at the great festival, held on the commencement of May, in celebration of the recovery of the *Caer Sidi*, "the enclosure of the just man" (the ark) from the waters of the Deluge, that "the house", or shrine, of the *Helio-arkite* god, "recovered from the swamp, is surrounded with *crooked horns*"; and those who follow are sounding "loud the *horns* of the lustrator". And it is a fact worthy of record, that the boys of Cornwall turn out early in the morning every first of May with trumpets formed of cows' horns, which they wind in celebration of something, but they know not what, and thus unwittingly continue the palæoëonian rites of our Druidic ancestors.

In some parts of Wales the custom of blowing ox horns on the first of May is still kept up; and it formerly constituted part of the mysteries of the *beltan*, or *beltein*, celebrated by the Highlanders on May-day. I am informed by a native of the county of Cork, that the blast of the cows' horns is one of the accompanying sounds which attend the holly-bush decorated with ribands and strips of cloth or paper, which is borne by the peasants on the ancient festival of *La na Beal tina*,—*i. e.*, "the day of Beal's fire", as the first of May is called in Ireland. The horns used on this occasion are frequently stained or painted of various colours; and the whole country is illumined by the blaze of innumerable bonfires.¹

The cornute trumpet is still a great favourite with the Cambrian peasantry of some parts of the principality. Our respected associate, the rev. J. M. Traherne, informs me in a letter, bearing date January 16th, 1847, that, "In Glamorganshire, the practice of blowing horns does not prevail at all; but in the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen it is the practice of the peasantry (who go fifty

¹ Stow, in his "Survey of London", streets", as forming part of the May page 80, speaks of "bonfires in the pastimes of the old citizens.

or sixty miles for lime) to carry horns, which they are fond of blowing." And a Welsh clergyman, now resident in London, writes me word, that, "coloured horns in some parts of Wales are blown to this day, especially on Christmas and on the first of May." "It is customary now for young men to blow their horns when going for the lime from the different farms, that they might meet on the high road, for the sake of company and assistance to one another should any catastrophe happen." The same rev. gentleman adds, that a horn is blown when the last sheaf of corn is cut, and when the last load of corn enters the homestead: when tiles are fetched for the repair of the house-roofs, a horn is sure to be blown by at least one of the company.

Our ancestors in early times had various modes of transferring inheritances. One method was by conveying them by a horn, either in Frank Almoigne, or in fee, or in sergeantry. This practice was denominated *cornage*; which, says Bailey, is "a kind of grand sergeantry, the service of which tenure was to *blow a horn* when any invasion of a northern enemy was perceived; and by this, many held their land northward about the Piets' wall." Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, particularly specifies the horn amongst other things, whereby lands were conveyed in the beginning of the reign of William the Conqueror. He says:—"At first, many estates were transferred by bare word of mouth, without any writing or charter, only by the lord's sword, or helmet, or *horn*, or cup; and many tenements, by a spur, a scraper, a bow, and some by an arrow." His words are these:—"Conferebuntur etiam primo multa prædia nudo verbo, absque scripto vel chartâ, tantum cum domini gladio, vel galeâ, vel *cornu*, vel craterâ; et plurima tenementa cum calcari, cum strigili, cum arcu, et nonnulla cum sagittâ."

The master-forestership of Delamere, in Cheshire, was conferred by earl Randolph the first, in the twelfth century, on Ralph de Kingsley, to hold the same by the tenure of a horn. The identical horn given by Randolph, is said to be still in the possession of the chief forester. It is black, and that of a foreign animal, hooped with three hoops of gold, and considerably curved; it is fourteen inches in length, five inches between the extremities of the

curve, three quarters of an inch in diameter in the narrowest part, and one inch and three quarters at its greatest breadth. Cheshire tradition asserts, that the ancient foresters were bound to use this horn, and attend in their office with two white greyhounds, whenever the earl was disposed to honour the forest of Delamere with his presence in the chase.

Randolph de Meschines, third earl of Chester, formed the whole hundred of Wirral into a forest, the mastership of which he granted to Alan Sylvester, in fee, with the manors of Storeton and Puddington, to hold by *cornage*, or in the words of the *quo warranto*, “*cum quodam cornu nomine tituli ballivæ prædictæ.*” Ormerod, writing in 1819, says, that the original horn is now preserved at Hooton, and is the property of sir S. M. T. Stanley, bart. It is slightly curved, and tipped with brass at the smaller end; the colour varies from yellow to light-brown, and is spotted in shades of blue and black. It is nine inches and a half in circumference at the broad end, seven inches in the middle, and two inches and a quarter at the brass tip. The extreme length is sixteen inches and three quarters, and the length across the curve thirteen inches and three quarters. If we concede the antiquity of the Delamere and Wirral horns themselves, we may be allowed to question the great age of the mountings, which appear much more like the work of the seventeenth than they do of the twelfth century. Both these horns are figured and described by Ormerod, in the second volume of his *History of Cheshire*.

The Tutbury horn may be cited as another example of these investitury instruments. The posts, or offices, conveyed by this horn, were those of feodary, or bailiff in fee, escheator, coroner, and clerk of the market of the honour of Tutbury, in Staffordshire,—but the second of these is now in a manner obsolete. The horn is white, with a black tip, mounted with silver gilt with gold. To a silver hoop which encircles the middle is fixed an iron ring, by which the ribbon is fastened at one of its ends; as at the other end, by a like ring, it is fastened to a hoop which surrounds the broad end of the horn. To the ribbon is attached a disk, bearing the royal arms, impaled with those of Ferrers.

It must not be supposed that it was alone for *cornage* that the natural horn was employed in the middle ages. But the real horn was gradually supplanted by one of more costly material, as ivory or brass; still it continued to be employed at times for the formation of pipes and trumpets. In a work, entitled *Margarita Philosophica*, published in 1508, at Basil, the figure of "Typus Logice" is evidently giving a lusty blast with a long ox-horn with a broad metal rim round the large end; and above the instrument are the words "*Sonus vox*".

It is difficult to decide at what period the practice of letter-carriers bearing a horn first commenced. We know, from a passage in Shakespeare, that it is at least as old as the time of Elizabeth; for in the last scene of *The Merchant of Venice*, Launcelot says:—"There's a post come from my master, with his *horn* full of good news." From the water-marks on the "post paper" of the seventeenth century, we may infer that the real horn was originally employed; and I have it upon the authority of a native of Kent, that some half century back, the post-boys in that county always went about sounding their cows' horns, as the letter-carriers of London formerly rang their deafening bells to announce their presence. And an old gentleman who formerly kept a musical-instrument shop in Blackman-street, Borough, and who is now verging on his hundredth year, told me he well remembered furnishing the Kentish post-boys with their first metal bugles.

Many of the persons who joined in the procession which formerly went from London to Charlton, to enjoy the sports of "Horn fair", wore horns in their hats, and blew trumpets formed of the horns of oxen, rams, and goats. And a few years back I noticed many horn trumpets accoutred with tin, exposed for sale at several of the booths. The equestrian farrier, in Hogarth's *Enraged Musician*, published in 1741, appears to wind a real cow's horn to attract attention. The cow's horn was once almost the attribute of a butcher boy; but the "march of intellect" has taught him that its use is not genteel. But there is yet one young urchin passes my house almost every evening, who, regardless of fashion and refinement, "awakes the stillness of the gloom", by sounding a loud blast on his lusty horn. Let those laugh who may, I cannot hear

the deep sound of that simple cow's horn, without my mind being borne back into ages of remote antiquity, ere the Tyrian trader had crossed the great ocean to the Cassiterides, and taught the rude Celt to dig the metal from the mine and fabricate the brazen tube.

According to Athenæus (iv, 184, A), the *cornu*, or horn, was invented by the Etruscans. In the British Museum are specimens of Etruscan horns of bronze, which were discovered by Sig. Campanari. From the large size and peculiar form of these instruments, I imagine that their prototype may be found in the horn of the ibex, a goat common to many of the Alpine ranges of Europe and northern Asia, and whose horns are still employed for trumpets by some tribes. It is curious to observe, that the cup-shaped mouth-pieces of these Etruscan instruments are exactly similar to some of our modern bugles. These Etruscan horns bear some slight resemblance to the brazen instruments found in Ireland, which are called *stoc*, or *stwic*, and said to have been used in proclaiming festivals on the changes of the moon from the tops of the cloghads, or round towers. But these Hibernian horns are not blown into at the end, but at the side, like some of the trumpets in use in western Africa. And I have been told, that the peasants of the south of Ireland sometimes make the embouchure at the side of their ox-horn trumpets, thus imitating the ancient *stoc*. Several specimens of the *stoc* have been exhumed at different times in the county of Cork, and also at Dungannon, Fermanagh, and Carrickfergus, in the north of Ireland. Mr. Crofton Croker possesses a most interesting and perfect example, which was discovered about thirty years since at Dunmanway, in the county of Cork; and a similar specimen is figured in the second volume of Smith's history of that county, which was found with several others between Cork and Mallow, in a bog called Lisavoura. Examples of the *stoc* are figured in sir Thomas Molyneux's Appendix to Boate's *Natural History of Ireland*, in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, Walker's *Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, Meyrick's *Armour*, etc.

The Hiberno-Celts had another species of trumpet, called *dudag*, which Vallancey supposed, from its name, was a very shrill trumpet of brass,—*dud* signifying the tingling

of the ear, whence the poetical compound *dudaireachd*, the noise of horns and trumpets. O'Brien, in his *Dictionary*, translates the word *dudag*, a trumpet, or horn-pipe; and Walker (page 88) says,—“Perhaps the *dudag* was a species of clarion, or octave trumpet, called by the Latins, *lituus*.” In Mr. Crofton Croker’s valuable collection is a straight tube of brass, which was discovered at the same time and place as his *stoc*, which, I conjecture, is the stem of a *dudag*; and examples of the more complete instrument are given in Smith’s *History of Cork*. The head of the trumpet resembled the *stoc* in form, and the tube was inserted into the small end, thus producing an instrument whose form must be familiar to many under the name of the “stock-and-horn”, and which was probably the archetype of this brazen *dudag*.¹ The *gall-trompa*,—*i. e.*, the foreigners’ trumpet,—is another instrument mentioned in the Irish annals. Nothing is known of its form, but it was probably derived from the Danes or some other invaders.

Gold seems to have been employed as a material for trumpets in the north of Europe at a very remote period. The hunting horn of Gunter, the Burgundian monarch, who plays so conspicuous a part in the *Nibelungen Lay*,² is described as of this metal:

“A horn of the gold so red o’er the champion’s shoulders hung.”

And in the king of Denmark’s collection are examples of horns formed of gold. One specimen was found on the 20th of July 1639, on the road to Ripen, in North Jutland.³ This horn weighs ninety-nine ounces two drams,

¹ Mr. Crofton Croker also possesses a “White-boy’s horn”, in use among the Irish rebels of 1798. It is in the shape of the horns of the mail-coach guards, but very much shorter, made of copper mounted with brass, and jointed, so that it may be slid up like a telescope, for the purpose of being carried in the pocket.

² The song of the *Nibelungen* is the most ancient of all the Teutonic metrical romances which have descended to us entire. As it now exists, it appears to have been written in the twelfth century, but it is evidently a

refacciamento of something much older. There are three old manuscript copies of it at St. Gall, Hohenems and Munich, which were all consulted by Miller, who printed a complete edition of the lay, in a collection of similar works, in the latter part of the last century; and an English translation of it appeared in Jamieson’s “Illustrations of Northern Antiquities”.

³ A despicable engraving and meagre description of this horn is given in the “Gentleman’s Magazine”, xxii, 25. For a full account, the reader must refer to Wormius’ “Mon. Dan.”

and consists of two plates of gold,—the inner one solid, and polished on both sides, the outer composed of a number of rings. It measures two feet five inches, Roman measure, on the convex, and two feet one inch on the concave, so that a right line drawn from one extremity to the other measures one foot nine inches. The great mouth of the horn is a foot in compass, and four inches in diameter, and the embouchure is four inches round, and near an inch and a half in diameter. This horn is surrounded with seven different circles, containing numerous figures of warriors, gods, animals, monsters, etc. In the first circle we see naked infants standing, kneeling, and seated between serpents; birds pecking fish, etc. The second contains figures on horseback, men with bows, and a priest holding a horn. In the third circle is a fierce contest: among the weapons appear the scythe-formed sword,¹ and axes resembling the *tuagh-catha* of the Irish, which Giraldus Cambrensis informs us were borrowed from the Norwegians and Ostmen.² The fifth circle is filled with serpents, human figures, a fish, etc. The sixth has an eyeless head with large horns, a fleur-de-lis, animals, crosses, etc.; and the seventh contains chimeras, bones, etc. In the first five circles are large serpents wreathing amongst the other objects. This horn has the modern addition of a stopple, which screws into the smaller end, by which it is converted into a drinking vessel. It is engraved with a crowned C. and 5, for Christian V, by whose order it was made.

A horn, belonging to the corporation of Dover, affords an interesting example of an early metal horn. It was the practice within these few years, at the election of the mayor of Dover, on the 8th of September, to convene a common hall by the sound of this ancient horn. It is made of stout laton, and measures about two feet seven inches and a half in the outer curve; two feet three inches and a half in a straight line from the embouchure to the large end, which is four inches and a quarter in diameter. It is deeply engraved with bold foliage; the field being covered

¹ I have just found a weapon of this form in the Tower of London. It is of doubtful age, but of the shape which tradition says was used by the pagan Saxons, and called *seax*.

² See a representation of this axe in an illuminated copy of Giraldus Cambrensis, executed about the end of the twelfth century, in the possession of sir T. Phillipps, bart.

with coarse cross-hatchings; and surrounding its length is a scroll, bearing the following inscription:—"A. G. L. A. Johannes de Alemaine me fecit." This horn is probably the work of the twelfth century; and the material of which it is formed, its style of execution, and the inscription which it bears, all combine to induce us to regard Nuremberg as the place where it was wrought. We know that this city was early celebrated for its laton manufactures, and it has retained its ancient reputation up to a late period. Nuremberg was also formerly noted for its musical instruments; indeed, Vincentio Galilei says, that the trumpet was invented in this city, but in this he is evidently mistaken. But there is a story on record which shews that it once possessed a maker of trumpets, who was also an admirable performer on that instrument; it is as follows:—"Hans Meuschell, of Nuremberg, was famed for his accuracy in making trumpets, as also for his skill in playing on the same alone, and in the accompaniment with the voice, was of so great renown, that he was frequently sent for to the palaces of princes, the distance of several hundred miles. Pope Leo X (1513-22), for whom he had made several trumpets of silver, sent for him to Rome, and after having been delighted with his exquisite performance, dismissed him with a munificent reward."

The old hunting horn was a large cumbersome instrument, generally of copper, mounted with brass: in later times it was almost always fabricated of brass, although we occasionally find them of silver. They were mostly of plain polished metal, but were sometimes decorated with engravings of hunting subjects and foliage. The earliest bugles were mere copies of the natural horn; but about the commencement of the seventeenth century the mouth of the instrument was expanded into the form known as "trumpet mouthed"; and from the end of this period the horn gradually decreased in size, until it assumed the small and convenient form in common use in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The German postilions of the present day, like their brethren of the past, carry a large brass bugle, resembling our old hunting horn, slung by their side; and this "post horn" forms a very favourite sign for the *gast haus*, or *gast hof* (hotel), in many an Almanian town. In Hogarth's

print of the "Country Inn Yard", appears a figure at a window, who winds a French horn, to announce the departure of the stage-coach.

It was anciently the custom for the warder to have a horn hung by his side, wherewith to announce the arrival of any one at the gate of the castle or mansion. This horn is rendered familiar to us by the opening lines of the glee of the *Red Cross Knights* :—

"Blow, warder, blow! blow thy sounding horn,
And thy banner wave on high."

What was said to be a warder's horn of the fifteenth century, was sold, in May 1841, at Oxenham's sale rooms, Oxford-street. It was a heavy instrument of ivory; the upper part beautifully carved in rich scroll-leaves; the large end being in the form of a lion's head with open mouth armed with teeth. This rare and interesting specimen was purchased for the collection in the Tower of London for the sum of £8. 10s. Mr. Isaacs possesses a very beautiful instrument, which may possibly be a warder's horn. It is of elephant ivory, wrought with rich scrolls, figures, the arms of England, etc., and an oval medallion, containing a half-length portrait of George I, surrounded by a garter, inscribed "*Georgius Rex Mag. Britanniae*". It is suspended by a chain of circular links of ivory or bone. This instrument is of German manufacture.

I should be occupying too much time were I to enter into any further description of such instruments as the *nakoner*,¹ *krum-horn*,² *gemsen-horn*,³ *thurnes-horn*,⁴ *French-*

¹ "Nakoners, brazen horns."—Bailey. In the fourth year of Edward II, Janino le Nakerer is mentioned as one of the king's minstrels.—*Liber de Computis Garderobæ*, MS. Cott. lib. Nero, c. viii, fol. 82. See further in Halliwell's "Dictionary", p. 570. In Torriano's "Italian and English Dictionary", occurs the following :—"Naccarino, Naccherino, a kind of wind instrument, or cornet of brass."

² According to Luscinius, this was of two forms,—one like a cow's horn, with finger-holes; the other like a shepherd's crook, not curling outwards, with finger-holes. The principal stop on

the organ is supposed to answer to it.—Hawkins' "History of Music", ii, 452-3. H. Hexham, in his "Netherduyckh Dictionarie", Rotterdam, 1648, says :—"een Krom-hoorn, a cornet, or a huntsman's horne." *Krom* in Dutch implies *crooked*.

³ *Gems* in German signifies the *chamois*, or wild goat; but the figure of the instrument given in Ottomar Luscinius' "*Musurgia, seu Praxis Musicæ*", Strasburg, 1536, bears no resemblance to the horn of that animal, but looks far more like the horn of some variety of the common goat.

⁴ A kind of trumpet, or clarion.—

horn, cornemuse,¹ cornet,² cornettino,³ cornopean, cornet-à-piston,⁴ and many others which might be named;⁵ but, I may observe, that all the horns that I have already enumerated, are more or less curved. But, besides these, there are a class of "straight trumpets" that bear the title of *horns*. Such, for instance, is the Alpine horn, formed of the bark of the cherry-tree; the *schwein horn*, of the German swine-herds, composed of two pieces of wood hollowed out in the centres, and bound round nearly its whole length with bark; and the *luhr*, or long trumpet, of the Norwegian peasantry, which is formed like the *schwein horn*. This latter instrument bears some resemblance to an ancient trumpet which was exhumed from a turbary, on the lands of Becan, in the county of Mayo, in Ireland,

Hawkins' "History of Music", vol. ii, page 454. There is a figure of it in Luscinius.

¹ Chaucer, in his third "Book of Fame", speaks of—"Cornemuse and shalmes—many a floyte and lytlynge-horne." In Gio. Torriano's "English and Italian Dictionary", London, 1688, occurs the following:—"Cornamusa, a bag-pipe, a horn-pipe." "A bag-pipe, cornamusa, zampognà." "A little bag-pipe, cornamusatta, zampognetta." And he defines zampogna as "an oaten-pipe, a reed-pipe, a shepherd's-pipe." The bag-pipe is also called *piva* by the Italians. Boyer, in his "French and English Dictionary", 1699, says,—"Cornemuse (instrument de musique à vent), a bag-pipe." Johnson has it,—"Cornemuse (French), a kind of rustic flute." The bag-pipe was called *ασκαλός* by the Greeks; *tibia atricularia* by the Romans; *piß ced* and *pißell gad* by the Welch; *piob* by the Highlanders; *sackpfeiff* (i. e., sack-pipe) by the Germans; *sack-pype* by the Dutch; and *zommarrah bis'an* by the Egypto-Arabs. The instrument was perhaps at first constructed of the skin of a goat, the horns serving for the pipes. The bronze figure of a Roman bag-piper, discovered at Richborough, is blowing through a cornute-shaped tube.—See King's "Munimenta Antiqua", vol. ii, pl. xx. The bag-pipe of the east, as given by Niebuhr, has a hirsute sack.

² Gomara, in describing the dress.

etc., of the Mexican priests, says,—"Some brought instruments of music, like unto *cornets*". And the histories of the final surrender of Mexico to the Spaniards, record the rallying of the Aztecs at the sound of the horn of the emperor Guatemozin.

³ "Cornettino, a small or little cor-net; also, an octave trumpet (Ital.)"—Bailey. "Cornétta, a carrier's, or postilion's horn. Cornétto, any little horn, a cornet, a hutchet, a bugle."—Torriano's "English and Italian Dictionary". "Cornetta (strumento musicale da fiato), a cornet or small shaune." "Cornetto (picciol corno), a small horn; also like cornetta."—Ferdinand Altieri's "Dizionario Italiano ed Inglese", Venice, 1751.

⁴ The cornopean, and cornet-à-piston, which are first cousins, are a vast improvement on the Kent (or keyed) bugle; for the various notes which are not included in the open scale of the instruments, are produced by valves, and legato or smooth passages may be played as delicately as they can be on a flute or clarionet; besides, a complete chromatic scale can be performed, and the keys changed, by the use of crooks, ad lib. The compass, too, is very extensive, ranging from a below the lines to c in alt, so that any melody may be played with the greatest facility by a master.

⁵ The serpent, sacbut or trombone, ophicleide, and bombardon, are all bass horns.

August 1791, being found nine feet below the surface. It was straight, six feet four inches long, and three inches and a half in diameter at the large extremity; and made of two pieces of willow, fastened together by a spiral band of brass, arranged in thirty-eight circumvolutions.¹ Such trumpets are called in the old Hibernian tales, *buadh-vail*, or "victory's mouth-piece", and said to have been military instruments of music, used only on emergencies, and capable of producing so tremendous a sound, that it might be heard at the distance of *seven miles*.²

This distance, however great it may appear, sinks into insignificance when compared with the narrations of the *Edda*; for it is there stated, that Heimdall, the warder of the Bridge Bifrost (the rainbow), has, for the purpose of alarming the gods in case of danger, a trumpet, called *gjallar-horn*, the sound of which is heard over *all creation*.

With these straight trumpets may be classed the metal horns of our mail-coach guards and newsmen of former days. The earliest example of the newsman's horn that I can turn to at the moment, is a little wood-cut in the left-hand corner of *The Weekly Journal, or British Gazetteer*, for Feb. 21, 1719, where there is an equestrian figure with the instrument held to his mouth.

In these "piping times of peace", the old newsman's horn is now almost forgotten; but in the last century (particularly during the war), there was scarcely a town or village in the kingdom whose inmates were not aroused by the startling cry of "Great news! Bloody news! Extraordinary news!" accompanied by many a bellowing blast from a long tin horn. The newsman's horns were of the most common description; and I need scarcely add, that they were incapable of "discoursing most eloquent music".

Before closing this paper, I must observe, that the horn appears to have been in such common use at one time in this country, that it has given name to one of our national dances—the "hornpipe"; which, says Johnson, is "a

¹ See a print and description of this trumpet in vol. iv of the "Royal Irish Academy's Transactions".

² Diodorus Siculus, in describing the Belgic Gauls, says:—"They use barbaric straight trumpets, of a kind pe-

culiar to themselves, which, when inflated, yield a horrid echo, and instil the terrors of war into those who are thus called together on emergencies." —See Meyrick's "Costume of the British Islands", p. 12.

country dance danced commonly to a horn". Some suppose the instrument to have been the Welsh pib-corn (*i. e.* horn-pipe), formed of a reed pierced with six holes, and having a piece of horn at each end shaped like the bowl of a tobacco-pipe, or the extremity of the Roman *lituus*.

From a passage in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, we may conclude that in his time the pipe and tabour were the musical accompaniments to the horn-pipe, for he says:

"I saw a shole of shepheards outgo,
With singing and showing, and jolly cheere;
Before them yode a lustie *tabrere*,
That to the meynie a *hornepipe* plaid,
Whereto they dauncen eche one with his maide."

In Ben Jonson's days the fiddle seems to have been employed as an accompaniment, for he says:

"Let all the quicksilver in the mine,
Run to the feet veins, and refine
Your firkhum jerkum to a dance,
Shall fetch the *fiddlers* out of France,
To wonder at the *hornpipes* here
Of Nottingham and Derbyshire."

In the *Tatler*, a writer says, that "Florinda danced the Derbyshire hornpipe in the presence of several friends." And in No. CLVII of the same periodical, occurs the following:—"I must not pass over in silence a Lancashire hornpipe, by which I would signify a young country lady, who, with a great deal of mirth and innocence, diverted the company very agreeably." These passages would lead us to suppose that the different counties had their peculiar hornpipes. The exhibition upon the boards of our minor theatres, called a "Sailor's Hornpipe", is now generally accompanied by a fiddle, and not unfrequently by the refined addition of the clinking of fetters, with which the actor's limbs are adorned! The "Post-horn Gallopade" is a recently devised dance, which is accompanied by a long brass horn; but this will bear no comparison to the jocund merriment of our good old English country hornpipe.

H. SYER CUMING.

ON

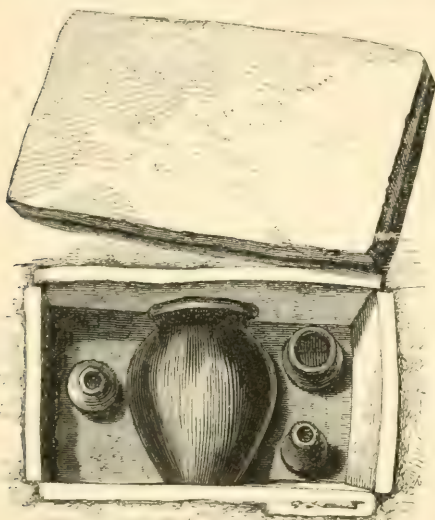
ROMAN SEPULCHRAL REMAINS, RECENTLY
DISCOVERED AT WEST LODGE, COLCHESTER.

IN the last Part of the *Journal*, some further particulars were promised relative to the discoveries made by our associate, Mr. John Taylor, jun., during the winter of 1848, and the spring of the present year. Some of the details have already been published in the communications made by Mr. Taylor himself; and the members of the Association have had the gratification of inspecting the excellent coloured drawings by Mr. Penrice, shewing the urns and other vessels in groups arranged as when discovered, and some of the more portable objects have been forwarded by Mr. Taylor to one of our public meetings.

It will be borne in mind, that West Lodge is situate on the right-hand side of the London road, between the public hospital and St. Mary's Lodge. The whole of this district, including the opposite side of the London road, as has been shewn in former volumes of our *Journal*, is included in the site of an extensive Roman cemetery. The numerous and interesting remains which in past years have been discovered on this side of the town of Colchester, particularly during the progress of excavations for the union workhouse, could they have been rescued from dispersion, would of themselves have constituted a museum of local antiquities unsurpassed in this country; but public bodies, in England particularly, have seldom evinced any disposition to preserve the works of past ages; and, solely occupied by solitudes and speculations devoted to the present moment, have never regarded such objects but as worthless or inconvertible into appreciable matter. Thus, as in the present instance, whenever antiquities are brought to light and preserved, the intelligence and requisite liberality spring from individuals, and it is considered fortunate if a corporation will tolerate their researches, and submit to be prevailed upon to accept, for the public benefit, the fragments rescued from the general wreck.

The details of the earlier discoveries at West Lodge will be found at pages 400-1, vol. iv. Up to the period of the visit of some members of the Association to Colchester, there had been collected about forty cinerary urns of various size and form, and from sixty to seventy fictile vessels, including pateræ, drinking-cups, and bottles; about a dozen earthen lamps; several of the long glass vials commonly known as lacrymatories; a glass cinerary vessel, mirrors in polished metal, coins, amber beads, portions of locks, a hasp, iron nails, animal horns and bones, and a variety of other objects. The extent of ground opened was about one acre; upwards of seven acres adjoining, which there is every reason to believe are equally abounding in Roman sepulchral remains, are as yet unexplored.

The annexed cut, taken from a drawing by Mr. Penrice,



will convey a general idea of the construction of the tile-tombs of this cemetery. This example was composed of tiles, arranged so as to form a kind of box or coffin, 15 in. in length by 12 wide, and enclosed an urn lying on its side, containing very dry and white bones, clean, and free from admixture of earth, and three small vessels, which had probably been used for ointments, balsams, or other funeral offerings.

Another, similarly constructed, contained two earthen *ampullæ*, or bottles, an urn with burnt bones, and a lamp; the spaces between the vessels being filled with a sandy earth.

In the immediate neighbourhood of York, Roman tile-tombs are frequently discovered, and many examples are preserved in the public museum of that city.¹ They are

¹ See the "Eboracum", or "York under the Romans". By the Rev. C. Well-beloved.

most commonly formed of tiles placed one against the other, resembling the apex of the roof of a house; beneath are arranged the sepulchral vessels. These tombs are not, however, restricted to one locality, nor to any particular mode of construction; they are occasionally found in all parts of this country, as well as on the continent, varying from the simple box or chest-shape, up to a regularly built chamber of considerable size. A few years since, one was discovered in the centre of Queen-street, in the city of London,¹ which contained a human skeleton lying at full length; in its mouth was a coin in second brass,—a fee to the ferryman of the Stygian lake.

Sepulchral tiles or tombs made with tiles are alluded to by Ovid. "The manes of the dead," he observes, "exact but small offerings: piety to them is of more value than costly gifts: no greedy gods inhabit the Styx. It is sufficient to cover the tiles with garlands of flowers, and to scatter fruits with a little salt."² The word *tegula* in sepulchral inscriptions is often used to denote a tomb.

The largest group of sepulchral vessels consisted of fifteen in number; namely, two large and two small earthen bottles; six *pateræ*; three small urn-shaped pots; a terracotta lamp; a lacrymatory; and the fragments of a large urn. A group of twelve vessels comprised, the urn with calcined bones; one large *ampulla*, and three of a small size; two *pateræ* of Samian ware; an earthen lamp; three small urn-shaped pots; and a bottle of transparent blue glass with a long straight handle. From the scorched appearance of some of the vessels, it appeared that both of these deposits had been placed on the live embers of the fire of the funeral piles of the persons at whose obsequies they had been used.

The vases and urns do not present any very novel features as regards form or ornamentation. The most peculiar type is, perhaps, that represented in the annexed cut. There are several of



Urn in straw-coloured clay.
Height, 12½-in.; Circum. 35-in.

¹ It is almost unnecessary to observe, were destroyed. The skull, however, that this curious tomb and its contents was taken to the Guildhall.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, lib. ii, 535.

this form, of various sizes, with double handles. In Clare Hall, Cambridge, is a fine and large specimen, with a kind of herring-bone pattern running round the upper part, under the handles. It contains burnt bones and is labelled as having been found at Colchester.

There is a fragment of a vase of a very unusual description. It is in white clay and ornamented with painted figures of a man and a hound in a dark brown colour, touched with spots of white; the artistic treatment of the dog resembles that of animals on the Northamptonshire pottery, described in vol. i.

The fictile lamps include some of very elegant design; as for instance, one with a caduceus between two cornucopias which terminate in the heads of animals (fig. 1). A similar design occurs on some of the consular and early imperial coins, and also on a British coin, two examples of which, the only specimens known, have both been discovered recently, the one at Richborough, and the other at Farley Heath.¹ On another lamp is a representation of a centaur carrying an amphora, and a third variety, here shewn (fig. 2), is in the form of a helmet.

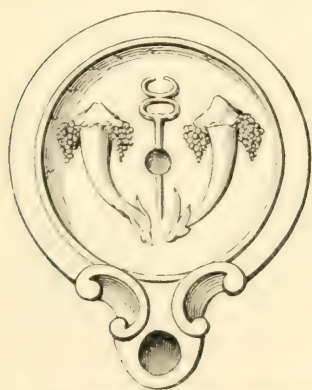


Fig. 1.—Terra-cotta lamp, half the actual size.

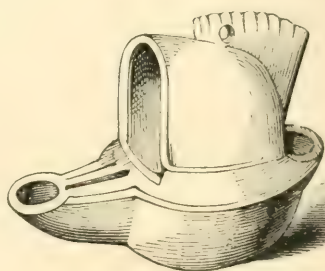


Fig. 2.—Terra-cotta lamp.

Among some sepulchral vessels lately discovered in the garden of Mr. Bunting, adjoining West Lodge and the grounds of Mr. Vint, of St. Mary's Lodge, was a lamp in bronze of somewhat grotesque design, which the engraving

¹ They are engraved in the present part of the Journal.

annexed will explain better than could be done by any written description. The custom of using lamps in the services of the dead was apparently almost universal, and of remote antiquity; the burning of lights on such occasions is one of the idolatrous rites forbidden by the Theodosian code. The unphilosophical stories about the discovery in sepulchres of lamps still burning, are among those common inventions of the vulgar and credulous, who, unable



Bronze lamp, half the actual size.

to account for circumstances which do not carry with them a palpable explanation, often adopt the most absurd and irrational solutions; these being mysterious and wonderful, are more acceptable to the generality of mankind than the plain and simple truth. There are several inscriptions which illustrate the custom of offering lighted lamps at the tombs of the dead; as, for instance, the following from Gruter :

HAVE . SEPTIMIA
SIT . TIBI . TERRA . LEVIS
QVISQVE . HVIC . TVMVLO
POSVIT . ARDENTE . LVCERNAM
ILLIVS . CINERES
AVREA . TERRA . TEGAT

Adieu, Septimia; may the earth lie light upon you: whoever places a burning lamp before this tomb, may a golden soil cover his ashes. Another mentions "two Cupids with their lamp stands, and the lamp of the Lares."¹

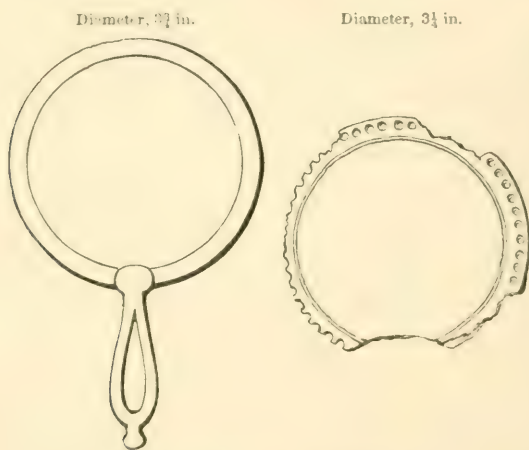
The use of lamps in the pagan religious ceremonies was the origin of the custom of burning candles practised by the Christian church, which was introduced at a very early period, and although at first protested against by councils

¹ Cupidines II cum suis lychnuchis et lucerna Larum.— *Gruter*.

and the more intelligent heads of the church, from the obvious resemblance to pagan usages, soon became generally established, or rather (if we substitute a candle for a lamp), it had from ancient observance taken such firm hold upon the popular mind, that eradication of what was believed to be a necessary element of ceremonial worship, could not be effected.

It may be added, there were several lamp-stands discovered, all in terra-cotta, except one, which was in lead. Two of the lamps bear the makers' names,—ATIMETI., and STRO... (*Strobilis?*). The potters' names on the red glazed pottery, are: GRATIO.M.—O. FRONTI.—OF. RVFNI.—OF. MAIO. and SALVS.F.

In the metallic mirrors, we also recognize an article of the toilette not unfrequently found in sepulchral deposits, which, from such objects, may be considered as indicating the graves of females. An interesting example, found in



Mirror and fragment found at Colchester.

the Roman burial-place near Deverel-street, Southwark, is figured in the *Archæologia*.¹ Mirrors, combs, shears, and such implements of the toilette, are also found sculptured

¹ Vol. xxvi, page 467. A vast quantity of sepulchral remains have been found in this locality for a long series of years, all of which have been dispersed or lost; one of a thousand in-

stances which could be easily cited in proof of the utter disregard with which the people of London treat their antiquities.

on the monuments of females. The amber beads may also be indicative of the sex of the persons in whose graves they

are found; likewise hair-pins, a portion of one of which is here given.

Fibulæ are found in the graves both of males and females. Those

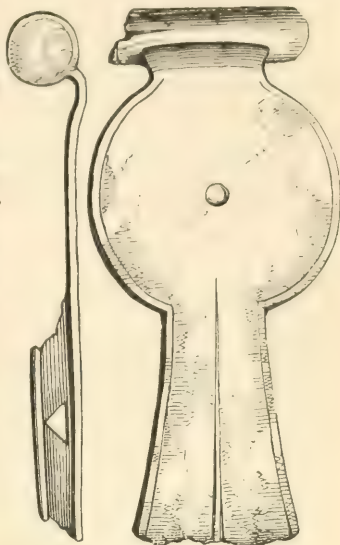


Top of a bronze hair-pin.

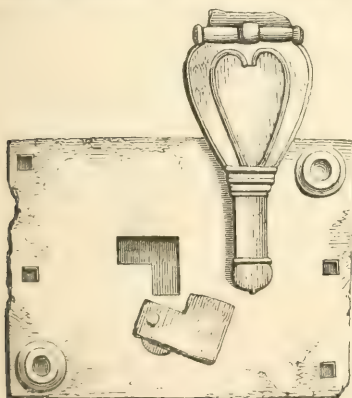
collected from the excavations at West Lodge, presented, in form and material, nothing calling for particular remark, unless we except the specimen exhibited in the annexed cut, apparently of novel type.

The remaining objects which have not yet been alluded to, include some locks in bronze, and keys in iron. One of the most perfect of the former is represented in the subjoined cut.

These locks appeared to have belonged to wooden boxes, in which the funeral offerings were deposited. They are often found, under similar circumstances, as well as iron keys; of which, we give two specimens of those found at West Lodge. They precisely resemble some found at Foxcote and at Chesterford, and preserved in the museum of Mr. Neville; as well as some lately discovered by Mr. Bland

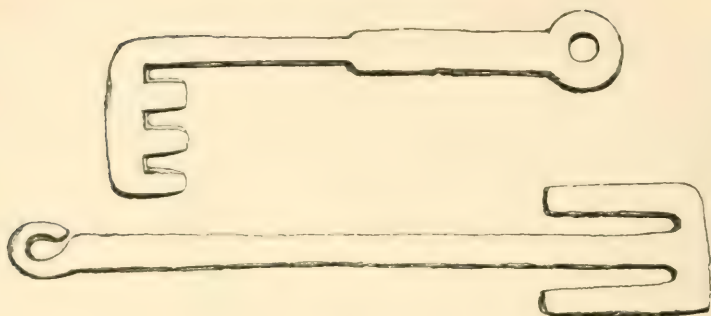


Fibula in bronze. Actual size.



Lock in bronze, 4 in. by 2½.

in the Roman villa at Hartlip. The following keys are, the one, five inches and a half, and the other, eight inches in length.



Keys in iron.

The coins are not numerous, and extend from Agrippa to Hadrian.

In concluding these brief remarks, and previous to presenting a report on the animal remains, drawn up by our friend and colleague, Mr. John Brown, F.G.S., I would observe, that these antiquities, which the public spirit of Mr. Taylor has rendered available to scientific inquiry, evidently belong to an early period in the Romano-British history. None of the coins, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are later than the time of Hadrian. The designs on the lamps are of early style; and I compared that in p. 136 with the British coin, with a view to show the connexion, and to exemplify how important is the test of comparison, particularly when, from the absence of inscriptions or other direct evidence, there is great difficulty in fixing dates, and in deciding the parentage of works of art. No skeletons, I believe, were found, as is usually the case in Roman cemeteries of a later date; and there were no weapons, to suggest an admixture of Anglo-Saxon remains.

C. ROACH SMITH.

THE bones, horn cores, and teeth, of the animals, found recently with the highly interesting and numerous Roman antiquities, in the garden at the front of the house of Mr. John Taylor, jun., consist of horn cores (*slugs*) of a short-horned ox (*bos*); molar and cutting teeth of the horse; the crest of the cranium of a ruminant (the broken and decayed state of the specimens forbid a more explicit description); horns of the stag (*cervus elephus*); horn cores of a very

large goat; three horn cores of a species of ox termed "*bos longifrons*",—two of the latter appear to match in every respect. These are smaller in size, and probably were those of a female; while the remaining one is larger, and probably belonged to a male animal. We have a good description of this extinct species of *bos*, in *British Fossil Mammalia*, p. 508, by Professor Owen.

It is highly interesting in a geological point of view, as well as in other respects, to find the remains of extinct species of mammalia associated with those remains which carry us back to the period in which the Romans lived in Britain.

In general, the geologist, in the course of his investigations, has to content himself with relative, not specific, data. The organic fossils of the rocks and deposits which he studies, are so different in form from animals of the present and living types, that they afford him only *relative data* wherewith to draw his conclusions.

But when he meets with an extinct species,—as, for instance, the *bos longifrons* now before us,—in close connexion with the remains of man and works of art, he then finds, in those remains of days long past, *specific data*.

Although it is true that remains of the *bos longifrons* have been found in several places in this very country, in the same bed with the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, hyæna, and many other large quadrupeds now found living in tropical countries only, and in strata much older than that in which our present inquiry lies, it is true also, that the *bos longifrons* did not form a part of the British *fauna* very long after that period in which the Romans occupied our island, and it is well known to naturalists, that this species of ox is not in existence now in any part of the world.

It is pertinent to our subject to remark, that this is not a solitary instance of this extinct race of oxen being found in the alluvial soil of Colchester, in juxta-position with Roman remains. Urns of graceful form, patera, glass vessels, and other implements of that enlightened and powerful people, were found, a little more than twelve months ago, by Mr. James Tabor,¹ by digging in his garden near his house, in St. Mary's parish. Here a great number of

¹ See Journal, vol. ii, p. 43.

bones of the ox, sheep, goat ; horns of stags, with jaw and teeth of that creature ; jaws, teeth, and tusks, of wild hogs ; a left ramus and teeth of a small canine animal,—size of a cat ; jaws and teeth of dogs,—some of them sufficiently large, and armed with teeth so large, as to lead to the idea of their being wolf's jaws. In the same excavation were found six beautiful Roman urns, iron spear-heads, coloured glass, and numerous fragments of red pottery (Samian ware). The same excavation produced also numerous bones of human subjects ; and these were in a better state of preservation than the bones of the quadrupeds found with them. The human jaws and teeth are very perfect,—the latter being remarkably sound, and firmly fixed in the sockets, or alveoli. The individuals to whom they belonged, must have died young. Here were also found remains of *bos longifrons*, consisting of horn cores, and the crest of the skull, in tolerably good preservation.

Thus we find, in tracing the history of our island from remote antiquity ; by collecting and preserving such valuable specimens of art as have recently been found, in excavating within the precincts of Colchester, in such numbers and variety : that, by so doing, an important feature is added to the future history of the town. And it is interesting to those fond of studying the natural history of the locality, that, among the bones of quadrupeds domesticated by the Romans, and also by the present generation, are found the remains of one species which is now extinct. These have been found in two different places in Colchester, within half-a-mile of each other, in close contact with the specimens of art above alluded to ; and there can exist no doubt whatever, that, if these investigations are followed up, much more light will be thrown on these relics than we at present possess, and bones and teeth of other extinct animals will be discovered. And here it is worthy of remark, that, while we are thus usefully employing ourselves, we are manifesting that archæology is more closely relative to geology than many persons expected. And it is well known, that the alluvial soil in and around Colchester, is literally crowded with interesting remains of antiquity ; therefore it will be well, if all who feel interested in these exciting pursuits, which cast such floods of light upon the early history of their country, will give all encouragement to the

collection and preservation of such valuable and faithful witnesses of the more early days of civilization.

With regard to the species of ox first alluded to in this paper, as found in Mr. Tabor's garden, with slightly curved horn cores,—if we compare those cores with some that were found by the hon. R. C. Neville, at Chesterford, on the border of Cambridgeshire, a few months ago, when I visited that interesting locality,—we find a considerable variation in external form; those found in Mr. Tabor's garden, in Colchester, it was before observed, are short and slightly curved, while those found at Chesterford are much longer, and gracefully twisted, and more like the horns of the oxen of the Alderney breed.

JOHN BROWN.

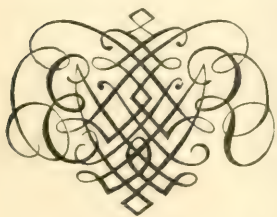
Stanway, March 5, 1849.



CUP FORMERLY BELONGING TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE very costly example of the taste of our ancestors in drinking cups, which is engraved above, is in the possession of colonel Gwatkin, whose mother (a niece of sir

Joshua Reynolds) obtained it from her sister, who married the earl of Thomond, and in whose family it had been preserved for a long period of time. Our cut has been executed from a drawing, to a scale exactly one-half the size of the original, which is of silver gilt. The rim around the cover is engraved with an arabesque, and bears traces of coloured enamels and stones which have decorated the leaves and flowers of which it consists. This is the only piece of engraved work upon the cup, for the cover, sides, and knobs, are completely covered with precious stones, many hundreds in number, secured in separate cells, and ranged closely together in rows entirely round the vessel. These stones are amethysts of various tints, and the interstices between the setting of each are filled with small turquoises, which are in some instances as minute as seed pearls, to allow of every part of the cup being incrustated with jewels. The knob on the top of the cover, and the three upon which it stands, are in a similar manner covered with jewels of the like kind. Those which form the feet unscrew; a hollow tube, affixed to the bottom of the cup, passes partially through each, and a screw, the head of which contains an amethyst, fits into this tube from beneath, and completely conceals the mode of securing them. A false bottom of thin silver is held on by



these screws, and covers a cypher, here engraved the actual size of the original; the letters being E. R. conjoined in a scroll characteristic of the reign of the sovereign whose ownership has been thus carefully stamped upon it.

The weight of the cup, it may easily be conceived, is considerable; it holds about half-a-pint, and when filled, would in the present day be considered much too ponderous for a lady's use, and although its costliness is at once visible, it is scarcely elegant enough to attract attention; it exhibits more of barbaric magnificence than real taste, yet is characteristic of the times in which it was constructed. In the age of Elizabeth the old superstitions were afloat, and a belief in the hidden virtues of precious stones was current, which gave them a value independent of their rarity or beauty. The amethyst in par-

ticular was believed to possess the power of repelling intoxication, and it therefore became a fitting incrustation for the cup of a female sovereign; and hence this gift was with a most liberal hand decorated with so valued a stone.

In Thomas Twyne's translation of Petrarch's *Phisicke against Fortune* (4to. 1579), we have a dialogue "of cuppes made of precious stones," in which *Joy*, one of the speakers, says, "I am desyrus to drynke in cuppes of precious stone." To which *Reason* responds: "perhaps there is some other cause of so fervent desire: for it is not the glistering only that allureth thee, but some hydden vertue; for who is able to declare all the operations and vertues of precious stones; thus I say then, yf al those thynges that are reported or written of them, the seventh part were true, it were a worthy matter; but neyther the seventie part, neyther the sevenscore is true in deede." He then says, "the aucthoritie of Magicius confirmeth, and the opinion of the common people establyshed uppon the same avoweth, that the amethyst withstandeth drunkennesse; is it then without cause, that this precious stone is meete to make cuppes of for drunkennesse?" And he adds, "there have been some that have beleevd that by the vertue of this stone, promysyng them sobrietie, they myght boldly quaffe without fear of drunkennesse."¹

During the middle ages the medical and magical virtues of precious stones became a studied part of natural philosophy; and while much hidden power was blindly awarded to the gnostic gems and engraved stones of the ancients, every precious stone was believed to have its own peculiar virtues. The readers of Chaucer will remember the description he gives, in *The Romaunt of the Rose*, of the magical girdle of Riches; consisting of stones which pre-

¹ The following notice of drinking vessels also occurs in the same dialogue, on the mention of the murrhine cups of the ancients, "in steede whereof a newe kynde of riotousnesse hath invaded your myndes. The roote of the felberd-tree, beyng a woorthy wood to make cups of, bravely set forth with knottes and skarres; a special folly which now resteth among the Frenchemen. To this purpose, also, are there other trees founde out; some forraigne, and called by strange names, and some

knowne; some called by one name, and some by another; but all of like vanitie. And there wil more be dayly found; and there wyl be no mesure of newe devises, untill the glory of the murrhine stones be surpassed by your cuppes. In this one poynt, I confesse, ye have given place to the madnesse of your auncestours, in that they highly esteemed of amber cups, which served to no purpose, but only to have them for wantonness sake, and reckoned them amongst their chiefest delightes."

served the wearer from injury by poison, palsy, tooth-ache, and blindness. This belief was so general, that treatises upon their virtues were written.¹ It was a doctrine much inculcated by the Arabian naturalists, who believed that the amethyst prevented inebriation, and the turquoise, strengthened the eyes, and was a remedy against poison, and it was from the East that we obtained our belief in their hidden efficacy; a belief which was held until a comparatively modern period, although, as we see, Petrarch ridiculed it. During the time of Elizabeth it is not likely that much faith was placed in such mysticism; but the affectation which characterized her court might have induced the maker of this cup to resort to the quaint conceits of an older faith, to render his work the more acceptable.

F. W. FAIRHOLT.

ON THE COINS OF CUNOBELINE AND OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

PART IX.

PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE TYPES OF CUNOBELINE WERE FORMED.

AN examination of the leading characteristics of the coins of this monarch may be highly useful, to shew in what particulars they approximate to a Gaulish, and in what to a Roman coinage: their affinity to Grecian types, we need not so particularly mention, as these might have been received through the Romans.

In commencing this subject, the proposition may be at once stated, that the circumstance that many of Cunobeline's coins are imitations of Roman types, by no means prevents them from having their own distinct and proper

¹ I must refer the reader to a note in Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 157, ed. 1840, for references to many of these manuscript *Lapida-*

ries. They are noticed by Chaucer in his *House of Fame*:

——“finest stones faire,
That men redin in the *Lapidaire*.”

nationality and characteristics. It is not necessarily to be implied, that because independent states may have followed various Roman types in striking their coin, it is solely to be interpreted on Roman principles. The Romans themselves frequently copied Greek types, as the moderns do both. In short, as, in the present age, antiquity is a storehouse for design, so in ancient times the less civilized states were very often accustomed to have recourse to the elegant monetary types and exquisite designs of Greece and Rome, to transfuse them to their own coin; not with the intention, as sometimes is supposed, to form a kind of continuation of a Roman or Grecian coinage, and servilely to carry out the ideas of the foreign moneyers in all their ramifications and details, but to form a national coinage with an independent application and interpretation, and to express their own ideas, or those which they adopted as their own.

All the British states were independent when they struck coins; and in particular, Cunobeline was not only an independent monarch, but one of considerable power. His dominions seem to have extended quite across the island; as his son Caractacus was prince of the Silures, or south Welch, as we find from ancient authors. His sons, after his death, contended with a double consular Roman army, which necessarily consisted of four legions. From the manner in which one of the principal engagements is related by Dion Cassius, recorded in his sixtieth book, it has always been inferred by the best authorities that it took place on the banks of the Severn; thus offering a corroboration to the extent of his dominions. In the second year of the war it required a still larger army than the first to be added to it to complete their subjection, as we find recorded in the Constantinopolitan writer Zonaras; and Seneca, in his *Octavia*, speaks with admiration of the magnitude of the armaments collected on this occasion, which it may be believed, had rarely been exceeded in the wars which the Romans had carried on with foreign powers. This war, further, was solely with Cunobeline's dominions, and perhaps the southern Britons joined; as neither the Iceni nor Brigantes, the two other greatest powers in the island south of Caledonia, seem to have been parties in it. The monarch, therefore, who, in his life-time could have so consolidated his dominions and

perfected his establishments, as to have enabled his successors, almost immediately after his decease, to resist for two campaigns so great a pressure of outward force, must have been both a powerful and independent monarch; and his coins, notwithstanding he may have imitated foreign types,—a thing the Romans frequently did themselves,—might not be expected to be without their own due and proper nationality.

As a striking testimony of the entirely independent state of the island before the Roman invasion under Claudius, we may refer to some verses on that event, written by an unknown author, and preserved in the *Anthologia* of Burmann, and in the works of Scaliger and others. These verses, it may be concluded, have the date of about A.D. 51, the time of Claudius's second triumph for the conquest of Caractacus, and not only represent the Britons as independent before the reign of this emperor, but as entertaining much jealousy of foreigners, and as possessing much nationality.

“Euphrates Ortus, Rhenus secluserat Arctos,
Oceanus medium venit in imperium
Libera non hostem non passa Britannia regem
Externum, nostro quæ procul orbe jacet,
Felix adversis et sorte oppressa secundâ
Communis nobis, et tibi Cæsar erit.”

i. e., “Euphrates had been the boundary of the east, and the Rhine of the north, the ocean in the midst. As to Britain,—hitherto free, and not enduring either an enemy or foreign king, now happy in adversity, and oppressed by a favourable misfortune,—it partakes of thy jurisdiction, O Cæsar, and shares equal laws with us.”

Now, as the coins of Cunobeline were those of a Celtic prince, a portion of them at least might have been expected to have been formed on a Celtic model, and such we find was the case. In speaking of Celtic types, however, it must be defined what were the Celtic types of his time. Certainly, not the symbolical uninscribed types of ancient Gaul; for these had passed away long before: even so far back as about the period when Cæsar invaded that country.—(See the *Journal* of the Association, page 12 ante). The Gaulish coinage itself had indeed ceased

before Cunobeline's began (*ibid.* page 21); but the nearest independent Gaulish coinage to his time, according to M. de la Saussaye and other numismatists, was that which was noted by having the name of the state or town on one side, and that of the chief on the other; or, sometimes, only the name of the state, and more rarely that only of the chief. Whether Greece or Rome were followed as to the deities, or other representations on the coins, this mode of inscription, in fact, constituted the characteristic of the type, and its nationality; and on this principle it is evident a large portion of his coins were struck;—as those having his name on one side and Camulodunum on the other, as CVNO . CAMV., etc.; or his title and Verulamium, as TASCIA . VER., and some further instances of other towns. It is not necessary to point out, that in the Roman coinage there is no such formula as this; for though on Roman imperial coins some few names of places may possibly occur, yet it is only incidentally; and such occurrence of names on them is rather of the nature of an anomaly than a customary rule. In Greek coins we have a rather nearer approach to the Gaulish characteristic, in the names of the peoples of various states being of frequent occurrence.

Other coins of Cunobeline have further a Celtic feature in the ornamentation of the reverses, as those of Verulam and a few similar. The delineations on these, whether suggested or not by degraded imitations of the ancient Celtic types of Central Gaul, do not, at any rate, appear to be of a Roman or Grecian cast.

The coins in which Cunobeline particularly Romanized, are those which contain his titles, namely, such as have the inscription, either full or contracted, of CVNOBELINI . TASCIOVANI . F., *i.e.*, Cunobeline king and lawgiver, or, Cunobeline, the king's son,—supposing such coins to have been struck before he came to the throne. In either of these forms there would have been a decided imitation of the Roman style; there being a substitution of equivalent Celtic titles for Roman titles, as TASCIOVANVS for IMPERATOR, and VERCOBRETVS (FIRCOBRETVS), if that be the due interpretation of the F, according to the first explanation, for TRIBVNITIA POTESTATE: the Celtic title of “vercobretus”, as well as the assumption of the “tribunitia potestas” among the Romans, both implying judicial power. Or if F be “filius”, still

the form is Roman, as IMPERATORIS FILIVS, represented by TASCHOVANI . F, is a common style on Roman coins. The monarch, in fact, is to be considered more to Romanize when using inscriptions in this style, than when he merely copies Roman designs, as then he is only to be considered as seeking guidance in matters of taste. When again he uses the title CUNOBELIVS REX, it may be doubted if he Romanizes so greatly; as REX does not occur on Roman coins, at the same time that it was a Celtic word, and is found on Celtic moneys.

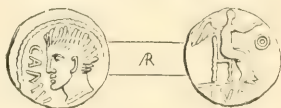
We have to view Cunobeline as the originator of a national coinage; for such he was in his own dominions, though coins were struck previously in various parts of Britain. We may therefore now inquire, what was the general range of subjects, and the style of representation, he proposed on his coins; whether following Roman or Celtic moneyers.

In the first place, as he had the advantage of a Roman artist,—for it is certain that he retained one in his employment,—and lived in great friendship with Augustus, it was very natural that he should introduce many subjects on his coins analogous to the Roman coinage of the day; and such, we find, was the case. On the coins of Augustus are observable delineations of temples and altars, of the sphinx, of the goddess Victory, and many other divinities; at the same time not often allusions to successes obtained in war by the emperor over his enemies, though these sometimes occur. In the like manner, the subjects are nearly parallel on many of Cunobeline's coins, though buildings do not seem to be introduced, probably on account of their small size. Cunobeline seems to have represented the principal deities on his moneys,—certainly to show his respect for religion, and to inculcate it. Next, various mythological objects he introduced, of a mystical or grotesque description: such as griffins, sphinxes, and pegasi, which, whether they really existed, the vulgar of those days might scarcely know. This was of course done to excite interest and curiosity. In the third place he seems to allude to national successes, in the like manner as Augustus did to his advantages over the Parthians, or a war actually in progress. Fourthly, he did not forget to commemorate the names of some of the principal cities of his dominions.

One thing is strikingly observable on his coins,—the frequent personification of himself with various divinities. This custom was as old as the time of Alexander the Great, or older; and on Cunobeline's types it was adopted with this latitude, that sometimes the monarch's features appear to have been preserved, and sometimes not; in which latter case of course it is doubtful to what extent the idea of personification was kept up.

A few types of Cunobeline may now be described, not to illustrate the whole of the preceding classification, which on former occasions has been exemplified in many instances, but incidentally to direct attention to some coins which might have allusion to passing events; and to one or two others to which points of particular interest may attach.

I. In silver. Obverse, head of Mars (in Celtic *Camulus*) to the left; inscription, CAMV. Reverse, Victory to the left, sitting, holding a bird; inscription, CVNO. Engraved in Mr. Akerman's *Coins of Cities and Princes*, xxiii, 9; Stukeley, v, 8; Pegge, i, 3; Ruding, iv, 11; and in Mr. White's plate, *silver coins*, fig. 14; as also here represented.



II. In brass. Obverse, Victory to the right, holding out a garland in both hands; legend, CVNO. Reverse, a griffin to the left; inscription, CAMV. Engraved by Mr. Akerman, xxiv, 10; and in Mr. White's plate, *brass coins*, fig. 8; also in Pegge; and in Herbert's *Numismata* rather erroneously.

III. In brass. Obverse, Victory to the left, seated, holding out a garland; no legend. Reverse, on a double tablet, CVNOBELINI. Engraved by Ruding, v, 26, and by Mr. Akerman, xxiv, 14.

There are also several other coins of Cunobeline with the delineation of Victory. To suppose that none of them had allusion to successes gained by this monarch, would seem improbable.

A fine coin in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, originally brought to notice by the antiquary Stukeley, plate vi, 10, and recently very spiritedly engraved in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, plate i, fig. 45, might be understood to imply that he was at that time in a state of war.

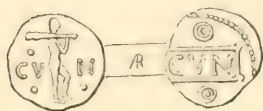
IV. In brass. Head of Jupiter Ammon to the left; legend, CVNOBELIN. Reverse, a horseman skirmishing to the right; inscription, CAM.

Another type may possibly represent a foot-soldier of his army. It was originally in Mr. White's collection, and is engraved by Pegge in his second plate, and by Mr. Akerman, xxiv, 9.

v. In brass. A horseman with a truncheon, galloping, to the right ; inscription, CVNOB. Reverse, a military figure holding a spear, his face turned to the left ; legend, TASCIOVA. The warrior, as represented on this coin, has both helmet and buckler, which appear to be in the Celtic style.

We may next revert to names of cities on his coins. Of these, several types have been before given, as Verulamium, Solidunum, Uriconium, and Segontium. A coin, purchased by J. Huxtable, esq. from the Pembroke collection, makes an interesting addition to the number.

vi. In silver. Obverse, the figure of Hercules to the right, with a knotted club on his shoulder ; inscription, CVN. Reverse, CVN. again, on a tablet, below and above which are two roundels or circles made somewhat conspicuous. Engraved in Herbert's *Numismata* ; where, however, it is erroneously described as a



brass coin ; also in Pegge, plate i, 2. It is here delineated from the original.

As to this coin, it possibly might imply that Cunobeline's name was repeated ; but the preponderance of probability seems rather, that Cunetio, in Wiltshire, the modern Marlborough, a town of the Dobuni, known to have been within Cunobeline's dominions (see *Dion Cassius*, book LX), was intended. In that case, the circles might not impossibly have had a reference to the Druidical ones abounding in that neighbourhood.

A rather good-looking female head, which appears on one of the coins of Cunobeline, formerly, it seems, excited some speculation. It somewhat, however, resembles the representations of Venus on the consular and early Roman coins ; and for such it was, without doubt, intended.

vii. In silver. Head of Venus to the right ; inscription, TASCIOVA. Reverse, Apollo to the right, seated, and playing on the lyre ; legend, CVNOBEL. It is engraved by most of the early writers who have treated on British coins ; by Mr. Akerman (xxiii, 7) ; and here from the specimen in the British Museum.



Among the coins of Cunobeline treating of mythological subjects, one very remarkable one is that whereupon is the Mithraic device of Victory slaying a bull. This representation, there is scarcely need to mention, was connected with sun-worship and the mythology of the east. It might not have been expected to have been found on a British coin as early as the era of Cunobeline. However, here it occurs ; and it may be observed in connexion with it, that Augustus had used his influence to put down foreign superstitions. The representation of this myth, therefore, argues

the independency of Cunobeline in selecting his types. Nevertheless, this coin might have been struck previous to the endeavours of Augustus in this behalf.

VIII. In brass. Pegasus to the right; inscription, CVNO. Reverse, Victory to the right slaying a bull; legend, TASC. Engraved by Ruding, v, 31, and by Lelewel, viii, 58.

As well as the bust of Venus, a delineation on one of the coins of Cunobeline, of a figure carrying a human head, has occasioned some surmise as to its due application. It has been thought to resemble figures of Bacchus on ancient coins, represented with a bunch of grapes. Hence, it has been doubted whether the object carried be a human head, and perhaps not unreasonably, as the Museum specimen is much corroded. The marquis de Lagoy, however, possesses one of these types in his collection at St. Remy, somewhat better preserved, which much strengthens the idea, that a human head was intended. On this supposition, the subject represented may have been the head of an enemy, slain in battle, offered at the altars of the Britons to their gods. It is engraved by Ruding, v, 25; by Lelewel, viii, 54; by the marquis de Lagoy, in his *Essai sur les Médailles de Cunobelinus*, 4to, Aix, 1826, fig. 11 of the plate; and by Mr. Akerman, xxiv, 10.

IX. A human figure to the left, clothed with a pallium, otherwise naked, presenting apparently a human head before an altar, on which a fire is kindled; inscription, CAM. Reverse, a sphinx to the right, preparing to spring; legend, CVNO.

Some remarkable types of Cunobeline have thus been passed in review; and it may be observed, that taking into consideration the numerous other specimens which might be added to the foregoing, it was altogether a coinage of great variety and elegance; the principal drawback to it being smallness of size, particularly of the silver and brass types.

There are still great numbers of uninscribed British coins, many of which were apparently struck in Cunobeline's dominions, and consequently were his. These, however, it does not seem material to notice on the present occasion.

BEALE POSTE.

Proceedings of the Association.

MARCH 7.

MR. C. ROACH SMITH exhibited drawings of some sepulchral urns in the possession of G. W. Dasent, esq., dug up in trenching a plantation of firs at Drayton Lodge, Norfolk, together with upwards of twenty others. They were of brittle material, and resembled some found near Derby, and published in the *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 63, figs. 5, 6, 7, which professor Henslow attributed to the aboriginal Britons, but which Mr. Roach Smith observed, he considered might be Romano-British, or possibly Saxon. Unfortunately, no objects were found or preserved with the urns discovered at Derby, by which their appropriation could be fixed. There were merely saved a few beads, and a portion of the well-known duck-bill shaped Saxon fibula; and it appears no one previous to professor Henslow's arrival had paid any attention to the circumstances under which they had been discovered.

Mr. Dasent's urns are also wanting in the chain of archæological evidence. They were mostly filled with calcined human bones; but no coins, weapons, or other objects were found, calculated to assist in determining the precise class to which the urns should be referred. A specimen is here given for the sake of comparison; and it is trusted that other gentlemen in the county of Norfolk, and in other places, will follow Mr. Dasent's example, and communicate similar discoveries, where they will be recorded and rendered available to scientific research.

Mr. Stubbs exhibited a gold British or Celtic coin, found near Boulogne-sur-Mer, weighing 105 grains. It is somewhat different from any of the rude types figured in Ruding and Lelewel, but does not seem of sufficient interest to claim an engraving.



Urn found at Drayton Lodge. Colour, dark brown. Circumference, 38 in.; height, 9½ in.

Mr. Crofton Croker communicated an extract of a letter from Mrs. Eyre Coote, dated, Mount Coote, Kilmallock, county of Limerick, 3rd of March 1849:—"Since I wrote yesterday, I have heard of more antiquities. The railway people have entered this week into a new gravel-pit for ballast; near Foley's Cross, close to Mount Coote, and at a depth of

about six feet, they came to some great flat rock slabs of stone, resting upon other stones, and built in at the sides 'curiously'. On opening this work they found an urn, about the size of what we call a large flower-pot, which might hold two quarts. It was marked on the outside with diamond-shaped crosses,—that is, angular lines intersecting each other. The workmen, of course, expected it would be full of gold, but only found in it burned bones; it was full to the top, and their rage and disappointment were such, that they broke the urn with their picks and shovels in a wild and fierce spirit of revenge. They afterwards found two more urns; and I sent to see if I could procure even a bit of the urns or bones for you to present to the British Archæological Association, but the urns had crumbled into earth, and I can, therefore, only send you a few small bits of the bones. I was told that some of the bones were about the length of a finger, others were longer. I have given particular directions, that if anything more is found, it may be carefully preserved for my inspection; and I think there is a chance, as the overseer of the pit is Casey, a tenant of Mr. Coote's. All the urns, or, as we provincials call them, 'crock's', differed in shape."

Mr. C. Roach Smith stated, that he and other members of the Council had, by invitation, inspected some ancient mural remains beneath the *Times*' office, in Printing House square, which had been brought to light during the progress of some alterations. A very thick wall was found, which had, at a former period, been cut into, and again, at some subsequent time, repaired. A section of the wall having been made, it appeared, upon a close examination, that three distinct architectural features were visible in its construction, namely,—that of the Roman city wall; a reparation, of considerable solidity, which might be Norman, or early English work; and, above all, the remains of a passage and window, which probably belonged to the Blackfriars monastery. The proprietors of the *Times*, with much good taste and feeling, and at considerable expense, have preserved this interesting mural compound, which illustrates three great epochs in the history of the city of London; a fourth of which may not be improperly typified by the mighty engine of knowledge which occupies the upper *stratum*, and belonging to the present time.

MARCH 28.

Mr. C. Roach Smith exhibited casts of four varieties of gold British coins, forwarded by Mr. W. Selby Lowndes, a portion of several hundred of which had been ploughed up on his estate at Whaddon-Chase, near Stony Stratford. They resemble well-known types of the rude coins figured in plates 1 and 2 of Ruding; and of which there are four or five varieties. Upwards of three-hundred of these coins have since been examined by Mr. Akerman, who has published an account of them in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, No.

XLIV, with engravings. The following is an extract from his paper: "Having recently spent a day or two at Whaddon Hall, the hospitable mansion of the lord of the manor, William Selby Lowndes, esq., we are able to give an authentic account of this interesting discovery. About the 18th February last, a tenant of Mr. Lowndes', named Grange, called at the hall to say that his son had, on the Wednesday previous, ploughed up a quantity of gold coins; some of which he produced, and delivered up to Mr. Lowndes. Grange has, in his occupation, a part of Whaddon Chase, which has been recently cleared and enclosed; and which, as tenant under Mr. Lowndes, he is cultivating by ploughing. While thus engaged, on the 14th of February, young Grange was ploughing in a field called 'Narbury', in the parish of Little Horwood, when, on a sudden, the plough turned up a parcel of gold coins; and the discovery, of course, was soon noised throughout the neighbourhood, and brought to the spot many persons, some of whom contrived to get possession of nearly one hundred specimens, which have been dispersed. About three hundred and twenty reached the hands of Mr. Lowndes, who has kindly submitted them to our inspection. Fragments of an earthen vessel are said to have been turned up where the coins were found; but, on inquiry, we could gather no satisfactory information on this point; and it is not known whether they were contained in some description of urn, or placed in a less fragile depository. The passing and repassing of the plough had scattered the coins over the surface of the land, and driven many of them nearly half-a-foot into the clay, which was dug out and burnt, whereby several pieces more were recovered. On visiting the spot, we could perceive no traces of pottery, nor any evidence of the ancient occupation of the spot; but from the name, 'Narbury',¹ we were led to examine the neighbourhood; and our search, in a part of the adjacent chase yet uncleared, brought us upon a very perfect Roman camp, enclosing an area of about five acres. The vallum and fosse appear to have undergone no material alteration since the position was abandoned. Though extremely interesting to the numismatist, it is greatly to be regretted that not a single example of an inscribed coin occurs in this find. About one-fourth consists of pieces of a type already well known; stamped, on one side only, with the rude figure of a horse, the head grotesquely shaped, and resembling the bill of a fowl, and the limbs disjointed. The rest have, on some examples, a tolerably well-executed figure of a horse, unbridled and at liberty; and on the reverse, a wreath, dividing the field, one of the divisions being filled up by various unknown objects; the other, by a flower which we shall not attempt to describe with the pen, but which is accurately represented in the engraving No. 1. The more perfect, striking, and fair preservation of some of the coins of this

¹ It is scarcely necessary to observe, that Narbury is the provincial form of Norbury, or Northbury.

description, enables us to identify others of less perfect type. It is not easy to discover the meaning of the types of British coins of the degenerate class, to which these pieces certainly belong. The progress of corruption of design seems to us to have been sometimes influenced, in a great measure, by the skill, or want of skill, of the engraver; but we shall not err much in the conjecture, that these coins are of a later period than those of Cunobelin, with the wheat-ear and rampant horse. We hold, in common with the numismatists of the Continent, that the rudest coins of this class are the latest; and, with this view, we do not hesitate to ascribe the coins of the Whaddon Chase find, to the important period just previous to the annexation of Britain as a Roman province,—a period on which but little light is shed by Dion Cassius; and the history of which, owing to the loss of a most important book of Tacitus, must be investigated principally by means of the few numismatic monuments which have descended to us. A person residing in the village of Whaddon, showed us a coin similar to those of the first seven specimens, which was found by a labourer, in a part of the chase, about five years ago; but he could give us no particulars as to the precise spot where it was picked up. As before observed, it is all but hopeless to attempt an illustration of pieces which bear no traces of inscription, nor any very satisfactory indication of what may have been the prototype,—for we must regard them as belonging to the class of degenerate British coins. All that can be done, therefore, is to chronicle their finding, and patiently wait the chance of future discoveries. Any conjecture as to the accident which led to the deposit of these coins in such a place,—whether they were the produce of plunder, or the buried hoard of a British chieftain, or the spoil of some Roman soldier located in the adjacent camp, are questions which may amuse, but can elicit nothing of value to, the antiquary. The average weight of these coins is just under ninety grains, troy; a very few only exceeding that weight by half a grain. Though so truly adjusted, however, their fineness varies considerably.”

The rev. Beale Poste exhibited casts of some unpublished British coins, in the possession of Henry Drummond, esq., M.P., of Albury Park, Guildford; and Mr. Roach Smith read a letter addressed to himself by the rev. Beale Poste on the four British coins represented in the annexed engraving.



"We are indebted to your great attention for the ascertaining the readings of the ancient British coins, much corroded by time, which Mr. Drummond and Mr. Caird, anxious for the advancement of numismatic science, have transmitted. I am not aware that they materially affect any previous numismatic questions, though types of much interest; it is therefore only necessary to describe them, and transcribe their readings; noting that their place of finding was Farley Heath, near Guildford; and that they are all silver coins.

"I. Obverse, rude head, apparently meant for Mars. Reverse, a rude horse, over it the legend *IRI* or *III*, the letters being much run together, followed by part of a circle, which it is doubtful whether it was meant for a letter.

"II. Obverse, a rude horse to the left. Reverse, the dubious representation of some animal. No inscription on either face.

"III. Obverse, (c)OMF, between two crescents. Reverse, a wild boar, to the right, rushing; underneath which, in the exergue, are some imperfect traces of letters wholly illegible.

"IV. A figure to the right sitting. Inscription *CA* behind the figure,—Mr. Rolfe's type having the letters *ERI* before the figure, consequently the whole reads *CAERI*, forwards; but, read in the contrary direction, by turning the coin, the interpretation (v)ERICV might be suggested. Reverse, the elegant design of two cornucopias issuing from a vase, and a caduceus in the midst. Inscription (c)OMMI(F), Mr. Rolfe's coin supplying the last letter."



Mr. Smith also exhibited a coin which he had just found in Mr. Rolfe's extensive Richborough collection, which, for comparison with the Farley Heath specimen, fig. iv, is here added.

Mr. John Bell exhibited drawings of eleven fragments of Roman inscribed stones, found from time to time at Risingham, Northumberland, the *Habitancum* of the Romans, where Mr. Bell, in 1843, made some interesting researches, which are published in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with illustrations.

The whole of the fragments of inscriptions, Mr. Bell observes, have the look of having been wilfully broken. Three or four of them refer to some public works undertaken by the Roman soldiers in the time of Severus; one records the sixth legion (*LEGIO SEXTA, VICTRIX, PIA, FIDELIS*), which, it is well known, was employed upon the great stone wall in the time of Severus; and two are fragments of sepulchral monuments. The Roman station at Risingham, as may be seen from Mr. Bell's plan, published in the *Archæologia Æliana*, is full of foundations of public and private buildings, which have never yet been fully examined, and which, it is feared, will be soon converted into modern building materials. The

Council strongly urge upon the consideration of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the propriety of promptly interfering to induce the present owner of the ground to preserve these remains; and at the same time, the Council expresses a hope that the Society may continue the researches formerly made, and published under its auspices with so much success and credit to their zeal and liberality.

APRIL 11.

Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt forwarded the following report on the foundations of a Roman villa near Oxford, recently discovered by him, and excavated under his superintendence, and on discoveries made on its site: — “The foundations are situated in fields in the parishes of Headington and Elsfield, at a distance of about three quarters of a mile to the west of the Roman road from York to Bittern, near Southampton, as it passes from Alchester to Dorchester, being distant from the former station seven miles, and from the latter nine miles. The remains also lie upon an undescribed Roman road *apparently* leading from Islip to join the Dorchester line. This road, which has hitherto only been noticed as existing in one or two small portions, I have, I believe, succeeded in tracing to the immediate vicinity of the foundations, and I have reason for hoping that I shall be enabled shortly to trace it farther. From the extent of the foundations, the remains appear to cover a large space of ground, but most of the walls have evidently been dug up at some distant time for the sake of the stone. In the course of the excavations, some massive walls of solid masonry have been laid bare, as well as a small bath or reservoir, and a well formed room; the former measured three feet ten inches in length, two feet three inches in width, and was one foot six inches deep; it was built of stone, and lined throughout with a reddish-coloured plaster; the floor was composed of concrete, of the thickness of eighteen inches. In this place several small bones were found mixed with the fallen rubbish. The dimensions of the room were fourteen feet by ten feet seven inches, and the walls four feet six inches in height, without an opening. The floor was of concrete ten inches thick, and the walls, which were built of dressed stone, were coated with a reddish-coloured plaster. In this place were found some iron implements; a considerable quantity of fragments of pottery of different varieties; two bone pins; some pieces of ornamental plaster mouldings, painted stucco, etc.; some portions of glass; a coin of Postumus, and one of Probus; a perfect flue tile; many stone roofing slates, tiles, etc.; arch stones; iron nails; small lumps of chalk, bones, etc. Amongst the other relics at present found in excavating are a small bronze bell of globular form, very similar in general shape to examples found at Chesterford, Shefford, Heydon, Audley End, and Colchester, but more highly ornamented; the umbo of a shield, in an excellent

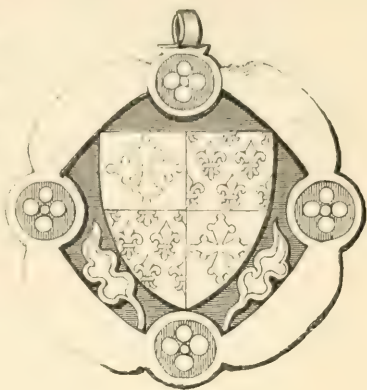
state of preservation, formed of brass, affixed to iron, and ornamented with braided studs; a leaden weight; some coins; fragments of glass vessels and of window glass; a portion of a bronze clasp; a whetstone; a clay-mould beautifully formed small female head; numerous jaw and other bones of oxen, deer, etc.; a human skull and some human bones; the horn of a deer of unusually large size, and the horns of oxen; oyster shells, etc.; a considerable quantity of fragments of pottery, of most known varieties of form and material, has also been found: amongst them is one fragment of embossed Samian, exhibiting the well-known festoon and tassel ornament, with a portion of an arch; other fragments with potters' marks; a part of a drinking cup with raised figures of the kind described by the late Mr. Artis, in the first number of the *Journal*; fragments of light buff-coloured ware painted with a red colour, one of which bears a very rude representation of a bird; fragments of elegant vessels with highly glazed metallic surfaces, and embossed and white scrolls, and other ornaments; pieces of green glazed pottery; and many other interesting varieties which must be reserved for a future report."

Mr. Smith read a letter addressed to him from Mr. Milner, then at Mansfield:—"Mansfield has long been distinguished in history; Leland mentions it as a 'leetle towne at the end of the woode,' meaning Sherwood Forest; it is celebrated as the scene of some of the jovial pranks of Robin Hood and his merrie men, and the humorous interview between the king and the miller of Mansfield; it was near this said mill that the coins were discovered. The Mansfield and Pinxton railway, previously used for coal waggons, is now undergoing alterations to adapt it to locomotive power, it was found necessary to alter the course a little near to the king's mill, and consequently to cut through several grass fields belonging to his Grace the Duke of Portland. During the process of levelling, one of the workmen struck his pick against a hard substance about two feet below the surface; an urn or vase was brought to the surface, and soon demolished by the ruthless hand of the navigator, and was found to contain between three and four hundred Roman silver coins, most of them in a very beautiful state of preservation; some of the emperor Severus so much so as to appear as if recently issued from the imperial mint. The coins include the following reigns: Augustus, Vespasian, Lucius Ælius, Hadrianus, Antoninus Pius, Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Geta, Julia Augusta, and others, some so much worn as to be difficult to make out. The duke of Portland, as lord of the manor, lays claim to them as *treasure trove*."

Mr. C. Roach Smith and Mr. Goddard Johnson, of Norwich, exhibited two copper badges, upon which Mr. Planché made the following remarks:

"The arms engraved upon this circular plate of brass, are quarterly. Toulouse and France, and the following persons are those only who could, as far as I have been able to discover, assume the right to bear them.

“Alphonse, count of Poitiers, sixth son of Louis VIII, king of France ; born November 11, 1220 ; married, in 1241, Jeanne, only daughter and heiress of Raymond, the eighth count of Toulouse ; and on the 13th of May 1251, took possession of that county in right of his wife. He died in 1271, and left no children. As count of Toulouse, he might have chosen to quarter the arms of that county with those of France ; or the countess Jeanne might have so borne them. (On her tomb they were displayed upon separate escutcheons.) But Alphonse is represented, on his seal, with the arms of France impaling Castile (those of his mother), as they might have been borne by Louis VIII himself. We can scarcely, besides, attribute to so early a date, the plate before us.



“On the death of Jeanne in 1271,¹ Philip le Hardy, king of France, seized the county of Toulouse, and his successors inherited it ‘as counts of Toulouse, not as kings of France’, until the reign of John, who incorporated it by letters patent, A.D. 1351, together with the duchies of Burgundy and Normandy, and the county of Champagne, with the hereditary royal dominions. I need scarcely recall to the members of this Association, that John, king of France, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, A.D. 1356, and brought to London by Edward the Black Prince ; that he remained in this metropolis till 1360, and after his liberation, according to the treaties of Bretigny and Calais, returned to England, and died at the Palace of Savoy, in London, April 8th, 1364. Now, if the ornament in question can be dated as early as the middle of the fourteenth century,—and I certainly do not think it could be dated earlier,—it is just possible that it might have formed part of the horse-furniture of that monarch, as count of Toulouse ; other similar plates being engraved with the separate arms of the various duchies and counties incorporated by him with the royal dominions.

“A plate of the same description, having upon it a shield, charged with the letter Y, surmounted by a coronet, or crown, and supported by two figures,—the dexter a gentleman, and the sinister a lady, in the costume of the fifteenth century,—was exhibited at the same Council, by Mr. Goddard Johnson, of Norwich. The figures hold between them a scroll,

¹ She survived her husband only four days, dying of the same malady, at the castle of Corneto, in Tuscany.



inscribed, as I read it, 'Famous Prince', or 'Princes'. I am inclined to consider it allusive to Richard duke of York, or Edward his son, afterwards Edward IV; but be this as it may, it is an additional specimen of these engraved plates, many of which, though smaller than the two under consideration at present, have been recently discovered, or exhibited.—Vide No. iv, p. 335, of this *Journal*; No. ix, p. 79, of the *Journal of the Institute*; and the following, in the possession of Mr. C. R. Smith. All of them have a ring,

or loop of metal, on the top, apparently for the purpose of suspension; and the prevailing opinion, that they were attached as ornaments to the harness, or caparisons of horses, is most probably a correct one. The two exhibited on this occasion, are by far the largest and most elaborately engraved, and have evidently been enamelled and gilt."

Mr. Atherley communicated an account of the discovery, in a field near St. Mary's church, Southampton, in digging for brick earth, of various antiquities, chiefly Saxon, but of different epochs. They consist of a glass tumbler somewhat resembling a cupping-glass; three silver and one brass sceattæ, resembling fig. 11, pl. i, and fig. 5, pl. ii, Ruding, and a variety found at Bittern, published in the volume of the Winchester Congress, p. 170; pennies of Coenvulf, Ethelvulf, and Alfred; two keys in bronze; two spoons in brass, silvered, one of which has a fork at the other extremity; and pins in brass and bone. The glass tumbler was found by the side of a skeleton, and possibly the sceattæ may also have been found in graves; as from the report of the excavators, several skeletons were dug up in a part of the field remote from the spot where the other objects are stated to have been found, in large pits filled with bones of animals, of which nearly fifty tons were procured and sold for manure. Unfortunately, at the time the excavations were being made, Mr. Atherley was unable personally to attend, or, it is probable, other interesting objects might have been preserved from dispersion. The graves, it is very certain, from the glass tumbler, which resembles one figured in Douglas's *Nenia*, were early Anglo-Saxon. Mr. Atherley presented drawings of these interesting remains.



Mr. James Clarke, of Easton, Woodbridge, presented an impression in wax, from a flat brass plate, bought at Ipswich, engraved with the design of a seated figure playing on a harp between two flowers, and surrounded with an inscription in a double pearly circle, ✠ AVE : MARIA : GRACIA : PLENA : DOMINVS : TECVM. On one side are four small circles, each enclosing a bird. It is of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Mr. Clarke also sent a sketch of a white stone jug, from Framlingham, Norfolk ; it is ornamented with lions' faces and a net-work pattern, and upon the handle is the date 1591 ; and a sketch of a brass mortar, taken from the old foundations of the north pier at Yarmouth ; it is inscribed round the top, *Petrus Veuden Chein me fecit, 1554* ; round the centre, at three equal intervals, is the bust of queen Elizabeth, crowned and bearing the sceptre and globe.

Mr. Norris, of South Petherton, presented an impression of an oval mixed metal seal, found at Timsbury, in Somersetshire, inscribed, AVE . MARIA . GRA . PLE., round a figure of the Virgin and Child beneath a canopy ; below, a priest kneeling. Mr. Norris also presented a drawing of a small pewter chalice, found in South Petherton church.

Mr. Lott stated that, while excavating for the foundation of the new entrance to the Mansion House (on the west side), a font of a plain character, Norman or early English, was found. It was broken into several pieces. These were secured by Mr. Charles William Hick, from destruction by the workmen, and he intends presenting it to the City Museum at Guildhall. On this spot stood the church of St. Mary Woolchurch, destroyed by the fire of 1666, and never rebuilt ; the parish being united with St. Mary Woolnorth in Lombard-street. It is very probable the font discovered belonged to this church.

Mr. Chaffers communicated a letter from Dr. Wake Smart, on some inscriptions discovered by him on the inner side of the wall of Guy's Tower, in Warwick Castle. Mr. Chaffers stated, that Dr. Smart had found, among the archives of the castle, several notices of members of the Shakespeare family.

Mr. Neale, of Chelmsford, stated, that about a month since, some labourers, engaged in double-trenching a field, the property of Mr. J. H. Pattisson, at "Ivy Chimnies", in the parish of Witham, dug up a quantity of Roman urns containing bones, at from fifteen to twenty inches below the surface of the field. As usual in sepulchral deposits, they had been arranged in groups. With them were found about thirty coins, the most remarkable of which, is one of the Tetrici, in third brass, with their heads side by side ; and on the reverse, HILARITAS . AVGG. The others are chiefly of Antoninus Pius, the Constantine family, Claudius Gothicus, and Gallienus. Horsley, influenced by Camden, is inclined to consider Witham as the site of the *Ad Ausam* of the ninth iter of Anto-

ninus, which runs from *Venta Icenorum* to *Londonium*. He is probably as much in error in placing *Ad Ausam* on this side of Colchester, as he is in supposing Maldon to be *Camulodunum*. The Roman roads in Essex require to be carefully surveyed. In returning from Colchester on April 3, the members of the Association visited the field where the urns were found, and inspected some which Mr. Pattisson had ordered to be left, for this purpose, *in situ*.

APRIL 25.

Captain W. T. P. Shortt, of Heavitree, exhibited a variety of interesting Roman antiquities, discovered, during the last few years, at Exeter, during excavations; and communicated the following remarks on a fragment of Samian ware, included in his Exeter collection; a representation of which, half the actual size, accompanies the description:—"This interesting fragment of a Roman vase was turned up, at the depth of seven feet, in Palace Yard, near the deanery and chantry, in December 1842.¹ It bears the figure of Apollo, as leader of the Muses, reposing on his four-stringed lyre, with *cothurni*, or buskins, on his feet; that fabulous, or composite, animal, the griffin, seated below, at his side. The head of the celestial minstrel apparently displays the ringlets of hair, hanging on the forehead and down the neck, which characterize the archetypes on early Greek sculptures, or casts in brass, of this deity. The character of the countenance is similar, as far as the like-



Fragment of a Samian vase found at Exeter. Half size.

ness on a piece of pottery can be traced, to the busts in the Townley Gallery of the British Museum; one of which was supposed to be a copy of Grecian workmanship of the time of Hadrian. The festivals of Hercules, also mythified as Musagetes, were celebrated on the 30th of June. A raven, tripod, and griffin, three of the attributes of Apollo, are on a candelabrum of the above gallery; and on a bas-relief, representing the apotheosis, or dedication, of Homer, in the same collection, Apollo, as Musagetes, appears clothed in feminine attire; a *plectrum*, or musical quill, in his right, the lyre in his left hand; the Delphic *cortina*, or cover of the sacred tripod, with his bow and quiver, at his feet; and the Pythia, or

¹ A coin of Claudius was found near the same spot, and a complete Samian bowl, with hunting emblems and embossments, which came into the pos-

session of the late ven. chancellor Potts, D.D. Remains of Roman occupation are traceable into the bishop's garden adjoining—in coins, pottery, etc.

Delphic priestess, pouring out a libation to him. The goddess Victory also appears on two bas-reliefs, in terra-cotta, of the same gallery, performing a similar office to Apollo. Combats between Amazons and griffins occur in ancient works of art; and also others, between those fabled animals and the Arimaspians of the northern parts of Scythia, who were always at war with them for the gold which, it is reported, they guarded; and of which many ridiculous stories are recorded, referring most likely to the wild beasts of that region, and alluded to by Milton in his *Paradise Lost*, of more recent days. The winged-griffin, an archetypal symbol (and a composite monster, half-lion, half-eagle), appears on the coins of Abdera, in Thrace, the birth-place of Democritus,—the *Polystilo* and *Platystomon* of modern days,—situated not far from the entrance of the Nessus into the Ægean, opposite the Isle of Thasus, or Tasso. Virgil, *Eclog.* 8, says,—“jungentur jam gryphes equis.” It was also the symbol, or device, of the people of Teos, who colonized Abdera, after abandoning their own country to escape the domination of the Persians; and it was also adopted on the coinage of Phocæa and Smyrna. The hyperborean legends (of Egyptian and Oriental origin) of the Amazons, their supposed founders, became connected with these and other cities, as Ephesus, Cumæ, etc.; and as Apollo was the principal deity of the Ionian confederacy, or insurrection, against Darius, the griffin became also one of his attributes, as an hyperborean deity. In numismatic collections it is found on the coins of Carausius, bearing the legend, APOLLINI CONS. Mela, the geographer (*De Situ Orbis*, lib. ii, cap. 1), says: ‘Gryphi sævum et pertinax ferarum genus, aurum terrâ penitus egestum, mirè amant, mirèque custodiunt, et sunt infesti attingentibus.’ Abdera was named after the sister of Diomedes, who fed his coursers on human flesh. Another city of the same name existed in Spain. Mr. C. O. Müller considers the griffin to have been first adopted by the Abderitans, in allusion to the worship of Apollo, at a celebrated temple near their city, at Deræa; possibly the Teians, however, did so previously to the colonization of Abdera. On a silver coin of that city, the griffin, winged and seated, appears, lifting up one of his fore-feet: reverse, ΕΠΙ.ΜΟΛΠΑΓΟΡΕΩ: female figure in a short tunic and singular head-dress, in the attitude of dancing or tripudiation. Weight, 191½ grs. It is in the royal collection at Paris. The legend in the Ionic dialect probably refers to a man called Molpagoras, father of Aristagoras, the originator of the Ionian insurrection, killed in the 70th Olympiad, A.C. 497.”

It may, in addition to captain Shortt’s explanation of the classical design, be observed, that the fragment belongs to that rare class of Samian ware of which two examples are given in p. 11, vol. iv, of our *Journal*. Amongst the coins exhibited by captain Shortt, the following merit especial notice: Carausius, in third brass. 1. *Reverse*: SALVS AVG.; a female figure, seated, and feeding a serpent rising from an altar; in the exergue, c. An

exceedingly rare variety. 2. *Reverse*: LEG. HXX. PRIMIG. Capricorn to the right; in the exergue, M.L. Only one other specimen of this type is known. See Akerman's *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, p. 132. 3. *Reverse*: VITO. . . . A female standing; in her right hand an olive branch; in her left, the *hasta pura*. As this coin is injured, it is not obvious what the legend may have been when perfect. It resembles the common *Pax* type. 4. Trajanus, in second brass. *Reverse*: DACIA. AVGVS.T.; in the exergue, PROVINCIA. S.C. The personified province is represented seated upon a rock or hillock, holding, in the right hand, ears of corn; in the left, a military standard; before the figure of the province are two children, one of whom, seated upon a kind of stool, holds in his extended hand a bunch of grapes. The execution of this design is as good as its conception is happy and appropriate. The coin being in fine preservation, all the details are clearly distinguishable.

Monsieur J. Boucher de Creveœur de Perthes, President of the Society of Emulation of Abbeville, presented a copy of his work, entitled *Antiquités Celtiques et Antédiluviennes*, and a large collection of implements, weapons, etc. in flint, discovered by him in the neighbourhood of Abbeville.

Mr. Wright communicated a letter he had received from Mr. H. P. Robinson, of Dinham, Ludlow, relative to a discovery recently made in Ludlow church, accompanied by a coloured drawing. Mr. Robinson writes as follows:—"Aware of the great interest you and Mr. Fairholt felt on viewing the interior of Ludlow church, and being also myself rather proud of our ancient structure, I take the liberty of sending you a drawing of the original altar-piece, lately brought to light by the removal of the oak screen; a description of which I published in the *Hereford Times*, of the 10th of March last:—

"The removal of the oak screen of Corinthian columns from before the original altar-piece in Ludlow church, has given much pleasure to all who interest themselves in the remains of mediæval art.

"It has long been supposed that some beautiful carvings were concealed behind this screen; and now that obstruction being displaced, the scene presented to view is one of the most splendid description, far exceeding the most sanguine anticipations, and to the antiquary must be an object of intense interest; but it is to be deplored, that the work of the despoiler is much more evident than the ruthless hand of time.

"The result of the recent examination has been the discovery of the ancient reredos. The upper portion of it is nearly perfect, and consists of a cornice, with underneath a row of canopies, in the upper portions of which are a series of crowned sitting figures. Every face of these figures has been destroyed by a blow of a hammer, and there are traces of attempts to break off the crockets of the pinnacles and canopies by the same process: they have fortunately survived such ill-usage, and, after a

lapse of so many years, are resplendent with colour and gilding. Underneath these, the space is divided by slender buttresses, and between each there has been a figure, perhaps a movable one; the back-ground of blue which surrounded these figures still remains, the space occupied by them being perfectly free from colour. There is a transom below them, running across the entire width of the wall, and immediately under this, an enrichment of vine-leaves and grapes, gilt. This enrichment returns and follows the inner line of the buttresses, marking the space occupied by the high altar. In the compartments immediately above are evident traces of sculpture, which has been carefully hacked away; vestiges of colour and gilding mark the disposition of canopies and figures. In the centre compartment, which is wider than the rest, the outline indicates several figures, and what appears to be a representation of the Crucifixion.

"On the right of the altar is a large niche, with a border of brilliant green, vermillion, and gold, communicating with a passage in the thickness of the wall, at the end of which is an arched opening underneath the east window. This passage is also approached by a small door in the south wall; and we cannot resist the impression, that this peculiar instance of a lychnoscope will tend to throw considerable light upon the uses of such features in our churches. In this peculiar instance the theory of eucharistic windows appears to be materially strengthened.

"It should be observed, that painting and gilding have been used throughout the whole of this very beautiful work; and, after the removal of numerous coats of whitewash, the greater part of the decorations are in a good state of preservation.

"I trust these investigations will lead to the perfect restoration of this beautiful altar-piece; and it is anticipated that a subscription will be set on foot for that purpose. It is to be hoped that the people of Ludlow and their neighbouring friends will respond to the call, and freely contribute to the restoration of the principal, but long-lost, feature of a church they ought to be, and justly are, proud of."

Mr. Francis J. Baigent informed the Council of the discovery of some medieval sculpture in the wall of Stoke Charity church, near Winchester; an account and engraving of which will appear in the next number of the *Journal*, with remarks by Mr. J. G. Waller.

Mr. Tisseman wrote to announce the examination of a tumulus in the neighbourhood of Scarborough; the details of which will be forwarded as early as possible by Dr. Murray, the president of the local society.

Mr. James Clarke forwarded an impression of a flat personal seal in lead, found in the neighbourhood of Easton, near Woodbridge. It reads,

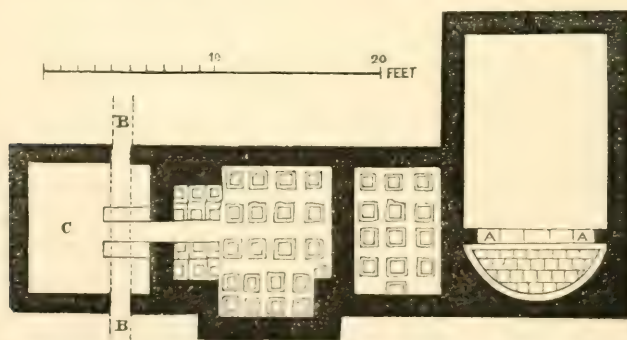
✠ SIGIL . F ✠ ELIPI . HALAT.

Mr. Clarke also sent a cast of a gold British coin resembling fig. 1, in the plate illustrating Part VIII of Mr. Beale Poste's papers on the coins of the Britons.

Mr. Pettigrew read a letter from sir Gardner Wilkinson, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association, bearing date March 22nd, from Upper Egypt, stating that he had been up as far as Gebel Birkel, and had found some interesting things, although the country was very mountainous and ugly in itself. He had derived much satisfaction in studying the character of the ancient Egyptian fortifications on the frontier, as they give a perfect insight into their system of defence, as laid down by the Vauban of the Osirtasens. He had made examinations all the way up, to the old level of the alluvial deposit of the Nile, before the fall of the cataracts of Asouan, which was first observed by Dr. Lepsius, in consequence of his finding the old nilometers (or rather, notices of the rise of the Nile) at Samneh. Mr. Pettigrew remarked, that sir Gardner Wilkinson's repeated visit to Egypt had enabled him to accumulate important and satisfactory materials for his intended work on Egyptian architecture, which, from such an authority, could not fail of being highly interesting.

Mr. Seth W. Stevenson exhibited a beautiful ivory casket of the twelfth or thirteenth century, richly carved with legendary subjects. It is one of the most interesting and uncommon works of art of its class, and to the present time, although exhibited to several antiquarian societies, remains unpublished. The Council have much pleasure in announcing, that in consequence of a most liberal contribution on the part of Mr. Stevenson, the casket is now under the hand of the engraver, and an illustrative paper on it, by Mr. Wright, will appear in the next *Journal*.

The plan engraved beneath is a reduced copy of that made by sir Henry Dryden, and which ought to have appeared in the last Part of our *Journal*, but was accidentally mislaid.



PLAN OF THE ROMAN VILLA AT THE BLACK GROUNDS, CHIPPING WARDEN. (see p. 84 ante.)

AA. Sert, 11½ inches high.—BB. Drain, in cutting which the building was discovered.—c. Ash-pit.
Pillar tiles, 7 inches square. Floor tiles, 8 inches square.

Notices of New Publications.

THE HISTORY OF ROMNEY MARSH, FROM ITS EARLIEST FORMATION TO 1837. By William Holloway. 8vo. pp. 182. London: J. Russell Smith, 1849.

THE brief statistics of the tract of land in Kent, called Romney Marsh, necessary to introduce the present topic of Mr. Holloway's publication, are, that it is one of the richest districts in England in agricultural respects, and comprises about eighty-five square miles; and that ancient records and evidences speak of such great former accessions to this tract, such progression in its dimensions from previous lesser magnitude, that it is evident either that originally this district of Romney Marsh did not exist at all in the shape of *terra firma*, or that there were only in this part small islands, serving as nuclei, around which the alluvium of a somewhat considerable river in this quarter, the Rother or Lemanus, collected.

To shew these progressive changes, the loss of various sea-ports in this quarter, the frequently altered outlets of the Rother, and all the other *et ceteras*, up to the present state of Romney Marsh, has been the task our author has proposed to himself, which, it must be allowed on the whole, he has very felicitously executed. His search has been extensive among historical evidences and records, and he cannot be too highly applauded for the correct inferences he has for the most part deduced from them; and his views, with some exceptions, are such as in all probability succeeding writers will feel no hesitation in adopting.

The results of Mr. Holloway's researches are, that in the time of the Romans, the bay of Romney, which then occupied the site of the present Romney Marsh, had one principal island lying in the northern portion of it, called afterwards by the Saxons, Roman-*ea*, or Roman island (pages 40-41),—the Romania of Hollingshed. This, indeed, he considers to have been at first the only island in the bay (pp. 40, 61); though he admits, that at a closely subsequent period, other islands began to shew themselves to the south of it,—as that of Guildeford and others (p. 47), and those of Brenzet and Lidd (pp. 49, 62). Roman-*ea*, or Romney island, in fact, he considers as one of the islands forming part of the delta of the Lemanus, or Limene river, which flowed, by two branches, to the north and south of it; and the other islands mentioned as above would of course have been parts of the same delta.

The purport of the volume is to shew the above particulars in their

various details, together with some introductory matters; and the accounts of the various places are brought down to the present times. Five maps and plans and two plates are added.

It will be observed, how greatly the above researches elucidate the subject of the late Mr. Isaacsøn's discoveries of primeval remains at Dymchurch, recorded in the *Proceedings of the Congress at Canterbury*, pages 115-121; and in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. i, pp. 40-42. These were at the time considered to militate against the supposed comparatively recent origin of this district.

Among the defects of the work, may be reckoned some incorrect deductions from various documents; and among other things, what would be considered by most a wrong allocation of the station of Anderida, at Newenden, now so generally placed by antiquaries at Pevensea, where are the remains of a Roman city; and a correspondence of many other particulars, to shew that Anderida was situated there. Pevensea would have been a station well adapted to command the British Channel, which was the purpose of the ancient Anderida.

The subject treated in Mr. Holloway's work may render it excusable to introduce to notice another publication, though it appeared some years since, as mainly referring to the alterations of the south-eastern coast. It is stated to have been published at the request of Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office, and other antiquaries.

B. P.

ORAL TRADITIONS OF THE CINQUE PORTS AND THEIR LOCALITIES, COMPARED WITH ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES AND NATURAL CAUSES AND THEIR EFFECTS. By Capt. Kennett Beacliam Martin, of the General Steam Navigation Company. pp. 31. 8vo. 1832.

THE object of this is to refer the whole of the changes in this part of the coast, since the times of the Romans,—the blocking up of various ports, the disappearance of the strait of the Wantsum, the closing up of the estuaries of various rivers,—to the agency of earthquakes. The writer is not inclined to admit the influence of other causes; and as an advocate for those views, and to pay due attention to both sides of the question, his work may be consulted; which otherwise, it may be added, contains various points of topographical information.

B. P.

ANTIQUITÉS CELTIQUES ET ANTÉDILUVIENNES. *Memoire sur l'Industrie primitive.* Par M. Boucher de Perthes. Large 8vo. Paris, 1849.

THIS work is well worthy the attention of the antiquary, and of every person engaged in making excavations in search of Celtic or other remains.

M. de Perthes seems to have attentively considered everything which might lead to the discovery of some object of interest. He has spared neither time nor expense; and having been occupied during a period of ten years, in the course of these researches, has made known the result of his labours in a series of lectures read before the "Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville", of which society he has had the honour of being president upwards of seventeen years.

M. de Perthes' observations, detailing what should be most noticed by one employed in similar excavations, should be well attended to by those who have never "broken ground". Every spadeful should be carefully examined; the change of colour in the ground; and whether containing the slightest indication of pottery, charcoal, fragments of bones, human or animal, burnt or unburnt; shells, such as the pecten maximus and variabilis, cardium edule, patella, ostrea, mytillus, etc. Every stone should be examined, to ascertain if the fractures are natural or artificial; whether polished or rubbed by art or otherwise; and the excavations should be continued beneath *any layer of remains*, until it is clearly proved that the earth has never been disturbed by the hand of man. M. de Perthes mentions as many as four and five distinct layers of pottery, etc., having been found by him in some of the Celtic tombs. That these layers belonged to different generations, is evident, from the nature and quality of the pottery differing with each layer,—the lowest deposit being of that rude sun-baked (unturned, or made with the hand) description, and the last deposits of a superior description, both in quality and form.

M. de Perthes begins his work by stating, that Gaul must have been inhabited at a very early period: a people coeval with the animals whose remains are now found in a fossil state,—such as the elephant, mastodon, etc. Although M. de Perthes has never found human bones amongst these fossils, he has discovered the implements, such as stone celts, flint knives, arrow-points, etc., which must have been made and used by a people existing at that period: upon this basis he founds his theory. It is worthy of remark, that these stone instruments are of the same form and description as those subsequently used by the Celtæ, and which are now found amongst their remains, and in many tumuli.

The manner of fixing the stone celt, which has so long puzzled the antiquary, has at length been ascertained by M. de Perthes, in his interesting discoveries in the neighbourhood of Abbeville, Portelette, and Meuche-

court. The celt was fixed (as will be seen by the plates given in M. de Perthes' work) in a portion of stag's horn, which had been previously hollowed out at one end, to admit the smaller end of the celt, which, doubtless, must have been imbedded in some sort of resin or gum to keep it firm. This portion of horn was about twice the length of the celt which it held, having a hole perforated transversely through it, through which a wooden handle was inserted. The other end of the horn had also the tusk of a bear firmly fixed into it: thus this instrument formed a sort of pick-axe or addice (*adze*). In some instances, this horn handle was highly polished; in others, in their original rough state. Instruments of horn and bone sharply pointed, as well as beads and ornaments of bone, and flint instruments of various shapes and dimensions, were discovered by M. de Perthes, examples of which he has fully given in his work.

Much is due to M. de Perthes for the clear and concise manner in which he has recounted the result of his indefatigable labours; and we would close this brief outline in his own words:—"Ces questions ainsi posées, nous les livrons à l'examen de tous. Dans notre désir d'apprendre, ce n'est point notre opinion que nous voulons faire prévaloir, c'est la vérité que nous espérons connaître."

J. W. L.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE MAP OF THE ANCIENT WORLD, PRESERVED IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF HEREFORD. By S. Bannister, M.A. 4to.: Hereford, 1849.

MR. BANNISTER exhibits a laudable anxiety for the publication of this well-known ancient map; and the present brochure is put forth with a specimen, drawn by Mr. B. Tucker, to encourage a subscription for the publication of the whole. The map is believed to be of the thirteenth century; and the specimen now published is taken from the copy belonging to the Royal Geographical Society, and corrected after the original. The members of the British Archaeological Association will recollect the valuable paper by Mr. Wright, delivered at the Congress held at Gloucester in 1846, and printed in the *Transactions* of the Association in the Gloucester volume (pages 25-42). To this discourse we refer our readers, warmly recommending the proposal of Mr. Bannister, to publish the entire map.

P.

TRADESMEN'S TOKENS, CURRENT IN LONDON AND ITS VICINITY BETWEEN THE YEARS 1648 AND 1672. Described from the originals, by J. Y. Akerman. London: J. R. Smith. 8vo.

UNLIKE the Greek coins in their beauty of execution, or the Roman mintage in historic interest, the series of coins belonging to our own country affords few points of equal attraction; while that series to which Mr. Akerman has devoted this volume have been condemned, not only to neglect, but to contempt, whenever they appear. The clever, but ill-natured Pinkerton, "*recommends*" them "to the supreme scorn" of all persons. How much annoyed would he feel if he could see a man of Mr. Akerman's ability, regardless of his dictum, devoting a volume of two hundred and fifty pages to tokens current in London alone. It would almost be a proper punishment to his narrow-mindedness to witness it. To a man who cannot, or who will not, look beyond the surface, an attention to these humble mementos may seem puerile; it is very much easier to dismiss a subject with an affectation of scorn, than to investigate its history or its importance as the means by which to obtain knowledge. In these tokens we find a not incurious history of old London, nay, a topography of its length and breadth in the seventeenth century; a record of names that may occasionally assist the genealogical inquirer; and a picture of manners at the same time. The names merely of the taverns and coffee-houses of London conjure up reminiscences of the greatest men of English literature; their signs remind us of the heraldic bearings of the royal and noble of earlier ages; and the many quaint and curious allusions upon the coins themselves give an insight to the tastes of the ages in which they were fabricated, and the particular phases of the popular mind.

F. W. F.

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

NUMISMATICS.

- The Numismatic Chronicle, No. XLIV. Contents:—I. Ancient British Gold Coins found in Whaddon Chase. By the Editor.—II. Remarks on an Unedited Mouton d'Or, struck in Normandy by Henry V of England. By Adrien de Longpérier.—III. Observations on some Remarkable large Brass Roman Coins. By Dr. Lee.—IV. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Constitution, Management, and Expense of the Royal Mint. A.D. 1848.—MISCELLANEA. Robbery of the British Museum. The Whaddon Chase Find.
- Tradesmen's Tokens, current in London and its vicinity between the years 1648 and 1672, with eight plates of curious examples. By John Yonge Akerman, F.S.A. and Sec. S.A. 8vo. 1849. London: J. Russell Smith.
- Recherches Numismatiques sur l'armement de guerre des Gaulois; par M. le Marquis de Lagoy. Aix, 1849, in 4to.
- Revue Numismatique, 1849, No. II.—I. De la rareté et du prix des Médailles Romaines; par M. le Baron Léon d'Harvey de St. Denys.—II. Restitution à Olbasa de Pisidie, à Jerusalem et aux contrées occidentales de la Haute-Asie de trois monnaies coloniales attribuées à Océa de Syrtique; par M. Duchalais.—III. Monnaie de compte de la province d'Artois; par M. A. Hermand.—IV. Recherches sur le numismatique du comté de Flandre, considérée dans les monnaies noires; par M. J. Rouyer.—V. Bulletin bibliographique. Paris, Rollin; London, Curt.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

- Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 2^e Série, 7^e Volume, (xvii Volume de la Collection.) 1848.—1. Réponse à la dissertation de M. Deville sur un Symbole Gaulois; par M. Lambert.—2. Recherches sur les Léproseries et Maladeries qui existent en Normandie; par M. Léchaudé-d'Anisy.—3. Description de l'ancien autel du Ham; par le même.—4. Rouleaux des Morts. Rapport sur une brochure de M. Delisle ayant pour titre: Des monuments paléographiques, concernant l'usage de prier pour les morts; par M. H. de Formeville.—5. Fouilles faites à St.-Jacques de Lisieux; par M. H. de Formeville.—6. Note sur un des premiers maires de la ville de Caen; par M. L. Delisle.
- Ruines Romaines de Membrey (Haute Saône), près de l'antique Segobodium (Seveux), sur la voie de Vesontio (Besançon) à Andematunum (Langres); par M. de Matty de Latour. Angers. 8vo. avec planches.
- Sur la destination de la pile de Cinq-Mars; par M. de Matty de Latour. Angers. 8vo. 1848.
- Revue Archéologique, 1849. No. I.—1. Notes sur quelques villes Romaines de l'Algérie; par M. de la Mare.—2. Observations sur les Bas-Reliefs trouvés à Annoumah et publiés dans le mémoire précédent; par M. A. Maury.—3. Recherches au

sujet des Cartes à Jouer; par M. G. Brunet.—4. Inscriptions Grecques de Mayorque; par M. A. de Longpérier.—5. Note sur un Fragment du Texte Assyrien de l'inscription de Bisitoun; par M. F. de Saulcy.—6. De la signification d'un Bas-Relief en ivoire qui orne la couverture du livre de prières de Charles le Chauve; par M. l'abbé Cahier.—7. Sur l'Etat actuel des Collections Archéologiques et artistiques de Rome.—8. Lettre de M. Vattier de Bourville à M. Ch. Lenormant sur les antiquités de la Cyrénaïque. — No. II.—1. Notice sur l'Album de Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIII^e siècle; par M. J. Quicherat.—2. Apollon Sauroctone; par M. A. Duchalais.—3. De l'Introduction des Noms Perses dans l'Occident et particulièrement dans les Gaules; par M. Ad. de Longpérier.—4. Etudes sur les Anciennes Notations Musicales de l'Europe; par M. T. Nissard (2^e article).—5. Aspre Inédit de David Comnène, empereur de Trébisonde; par M. V. Langlois.—6. Sur l'Origine des Mots: Comtat Venaissin; par M. J. Courtet.

Archæologia, vol. xxxii, part 1. Contents:—i. Some unpublished particulars respecting Henry Algernon Percy, the sixth earl of Northumberland of that family. By J. Payne Collier, Esq.—ii. Description of an Astrological Clock, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of London; in a Letter to the President, from Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., Director.—iii. Antiquarian Researches in the Ionian Islands, in the year 1812. By John Lee, Esq. LL.D.—iv. Observations upon the History of one of the old Cheshire Families. By Sir Fortunatus Dwaris, B.A.—v. Observations on the History and Progress of the Art of Watchmaking, from the earliest period to modern times. By Octavius Morgan, Esq. M.P.—vi. On the original Site of Roman London. By Arthur Taylor, Esq.—vii. On the Designation of "Cold Harbour". By Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N., Director.—viii. Satirical Rhymes on the defeat of the Flemings before Calais in 1436; from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. By Benjamin Williams, Esq.—ix. On Gnostic Gems. By John Yonge Akerman, Esq.—x. Remarks to assist in ascertaining the Dates of Buildings. By John Adey Repton, Esq.—xi. Observations on the Trial and Death of William Earl of Gowrie, A.D. 1584, and on their Connexion with the Gowrie Conspiracy, A.D. 1600. By John Bruce, Esq.—xii. An Account of the various objects of Antiquity, found near Amiens, in France, in the Spring of 1848. By Lord Albert Conyngham.—xiii. Account of a Gold Torquis, found in Needwood Forest, in Staffordshire. By Sir Henry Ellis.

Materials for the History of Britain. Vol. i. 1849. Folio. Printed by order of Government.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the excavations at the New Royal Exchange. By William Tite, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A. Printed for the use of the Members of the Corporation of the City of London. 8vo. 1848.

Monumental Brasses, Parts xvii and xviii, being the concluding portion of the work. By J. G. and L. A. B. Waller. Pickering, 177, Piccadilly; Nichols and Son, Parliament-street; and J. Weale, High Holborn.

WORKS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

A Comparative List of the Churches mentioned in Domesday Book, and those of more recent date, in the counties of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; with notes on their Architecture, Sepulchral Memorials, and other Antiquities. By the Rev. Arthur Hussey, M.A. Subscribers' names will be received by the Publisher, John Russell Smith, 4, Old Compton-street, Soho, London; or by the Rev. A. Hussey, Rottingdean, near Brighton.

A Historical and Topographical Account of the Parish of St. Pancras, otherwise Kentish Town, in the County of Middlesex; including some account of the Hamlet of Highgate, from sources hitherto unnoticed. By Samuel Wiswould, Second Master in the St. Pancras National School. Subscribers' names, and any communications relative to the parish, may be addressed to Mr. S. Wiswould, St. Pancras National School, Southampton-street, Euston-square.

Collectanea Antiqua. By C. Roach Smith. Part 1, vol. ii, is in hand, and will contain eight plates and several wood-cuts, illustrative of the Roman Villa at Hartlip, Kent. As only a very limited number of copies will be printed, it is requested that applications be made early to the publisher, Mr. J. Russell Smith, Old Compton-street, Soho.

The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lynne. By C. Roach Smith and F. W. Fairholt. (*In the press.*) The Subscription List for this work will be kept open only a short time longer, when the price will be considerably raised for the unsubscribed copies. Subscribers' names may be forwarded to Mr. C. R. Smith, 5, Liverpool-street, City.

A Guide to Northampton. Welton, Northampton.

CAERLEON. (ISCA SILURUM.)

The Annual Meeting of the Caerleon Archaeological Association will be held on the 5th of July. On the 25th, a Bazaar will be opened for the benefit of the Museum of Local Antiquities at Caerleon, and to defray the expenses of building. When we call to mind the number, and historical interest of the inscriptions, and other monuments collected at this small but celebrated town, as well as the zeal and devotion displayed by a few individuals, we trust the nobility and gentry of Monmouthshire will unite, by liberal subscriptions, to place this institution upon a firm and sure foundation.

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OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

OCTOBER 1849.

REMARKS ON CHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY ARTHUR ASHPITEL, ESQ., F.S.A.

MR. ASHPITEL commenced by stating, that he had undertaken this task at very short notice; that his path had not been previously smoothened by others; that the cathedral had not been illustrated by such men as Britton and Wild; and that his labours had been the more severe, in consequence of the fact, that all the authorities he had to consult were in manuscripts in the British Museum, the most part very difficult to decipher. He acknowledged, however, the great obligations he owed to the Local Archæological Society, and trusted, that if he had in the course of his investigations overlooked any point of interest, it would be pardoned by those to whom, by daily, or at least weekly visits, the cathedral was so familiar.

The present cathedral was originally a monastery, and although Chester had been the seat of a bishopric previous to the Conquest, it had only been restored to these privileges by the Reformation. The Chronicle of Henry Bradshaw (Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. ii, page 62), stated, that Chester was the seat of a cathedral church in the time of king Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain. It is true, bishop Tanner had given a contradiction to this statement, but without authority; he (Mr. Ashpitel), could not imagine why this should be; the good town of Chester was at

that time the metropolis of the west of England—the seat of Roman commerce and Roman arts. The light of Christianity had penetrated where Roman civilization had spread, and he thought it bold to contradict, without authority, a tradition that bore every trace of probability. However this might be, it was not pretended that the present erection was any part of such cathedral. We learn from the same authority, Bradshaw the Cestrian monk, before cited, and from the Chronicle of John Brompton (*Decem Scriptores*, p. 810), that St. Werburgh was the daughter, sister, and wife, of kings; that, disgusted with the world, she founded a monastery at Ely, which she governed many years, died at Trent, and was buried at the place then called Heanburga, now Hanbury. Her relics, according to both authorities above cited, were removed, for fear of an incursion of the Danes, to Chester, and there re-buried with pomp, a ceremony called usually “the translation of the body”. This must prove the importance of the town of Chester at this period, and shows its wealth and strength, although subject to the attacks of the Welsh by land, and the Danes by sea. It was very gratifying to reflect, that there was nothing absurd or disgusting in the legend of St. Werburgh, as there is in those of many other saints; and it must be with pleasure that we reflect, when we tread those sacred pavements, that there is nothing in its history to cause us to blush for the credulity of our predecessors.

In 924, according to the manuscript chronicle preserved among bishop Gastrell’s *Notitia*, it is stated, that king Athelstane erected a monastery here for secular canons; although William of Malmesbury (fol. 164, n. 30) states, there was a monastery for nuns (as the word “*sanctimonialis*” is usually translated) *ex antiquo*, from a very early period. Whether the word may not mean any monastic person it is not worth while to inquire. Suffice it to say, there was a monastery for regular canons in 1057, when Leofric, earl of Chester (so celebrated in his day, but now better known as the husband of lady Godiva, the heroine of a very uncertain legend relating to Coventry), came to Chester and repaired the buildings at his own expense. Shortly after this, the greatest political convulsion that ever agitated this land, took place—the Norman Conquest.

Everything was changed. Arts, commerce, arms, customs, were administered by new hands. Among other changes, the secular, or as we should call them, the parochial clergy, were removed from their possessions, and monks placed there in their stead—a change attempted often before the Conquest, but against which the common voice of the English nation strongly revolted. Under their new Norman lords, however, this was done everywhere. The Conqueror now created his friend and fellow soldier, the celebrated Hugo d'Avranches (better known as Hugh Lupus), earl of Chester. He followed the example of most of his predecessors, and lived a life of the wildest luxury and rapine. At length, falling sick from the consequence of his excesses, he was visited by the celebrated Anselm, the abbot of Bee, in Normandy, afterwards the archbishop of Canterbury; who persuaded him, as William of Malmesbury says, to eject the old canons, whom he says were very few in number, and who lived in an irregular or improper and beggarly way—"ejectus inde pauculis clericis qui ibidem fædo et pauperi victu vitam transigebant". According, however, to the anonymous *Chronicle of Evesham* (MS. Bib. Bodl. fol. 96), and the *Golden History of John of Tynemouth*, in the same library, he converted the canons into regular monks—in the terse words of the latter author, *tonsoravit eos*, he shaved them; alluding to the tonsure the regular monks have on the head. The three chronicles respectively give us, as the dates of the foundation, the years 1093, 1094, 1095, a slight variation, into which there is little use inquiring. In the meanwhile the monastery was built; and age and disease coming on, the old hardened soldier was struck with remorse; and,—an expiation common enough in those days, and alluded to with such force by our greatest poet, as those who—

“Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or as Franciscan think to pass disguised,”—

the great Hugh Lupus took the cowl, retired in the last state of disease into the monastery, and in three days was no more.

It now must be endeavoured to point out what parts of the church are the work of this proud earl. (Mr. Ashpitel here pointed to a large plan of the cathedral and buildings,

prepared to a scale of six feet to the inch.) He stated, that he could not, from the most minute research, discover any portions of the Saxon church. He considered it probable that there might be some portions in the foundations, but there were none visible. It was not one of those cases where the period of Saxon erection is within a few short years of the Conquest, and where we are told one building just built was pulled down, to be immediately replaced by another. The Saxon building must have been very old; it was much dilapidated a few years previously, when Leofric repaired it. We have the testimony of William of Malmesbury to the squalid poverty of the monks, and probably of their buildings; besides this, we have the indirect evidence of the earl's charter, where he alludes to the church in the words "*quæ constructa est*", which lead us to suppose it had just been built; and the direct evidence of Ordericus Vitalis above cited, who speaks of it as the church which Lupus himself had built—"quod idem Cestriæ construxerat".

Mr. Ashpitel then pointed out on the plan the Norman work. It consisted of the lower part of the north-west tower, standing on the opposite side of the nave to the present Consistory-court, containing some beautiful shafts and capitals, and five lofty arches, the general character of which would lead every one to suppose the original church to have been of very splendid architecture. The north wall of the nave, to the height of the windows, is likewise Norman, and contained on the side of the cloister six tombs, where, as we find from a manuscript written on the back of an old charter now in the British Museum, the early Norman abbots are interred. The north transept is also of Norman work to a considerable height, and contains a very curious Norman arcade, so placed, that he (Mr. Ashpitel) at first thought the original design was like that of Exeter—a nave and choir, flanked by two towers, the lower parts of which were open, and formed transepts. This idea, however, was disproved by authorities which afterwards were obtained. He then explained the way in which the Gothic cathedral had, as it were, grown out of the Roman basilica, and that the circular tribunal had been first elongated a little, still keeping its rounded form at the eastern end, and thus became the

choir. On inquiry, he found that two bases of columns still existed in the choir, near the bishop's throne, and he shewed on the plan their situation, and the probable line the old circular part then assumed. He also pointed out on the plans the building which had just been opened, by the kindness of the bishop and clergy. These are vaulted apartments of early Norman work, and are described in the charter of Henry VIII, by which he divides the properties between the bishop and dean, as *promptuaria et pannaria*, the former derived from a word denoting a butler or steward, probably a buttery; and the latter from *pannus*, a cloth, probably the place for clothing.

The next point in the history of the monastery was the removal or translation of earl Hugh's remains by Randal, the third Norman earl. This, as he states in the charter whereby he gives the monks the land north of the abbey as far as the Northgate, he does for the good of his soul and for those of his relations.

Mr. Ashpitel then showed by the plan the situation of a vaulted passage at the south-west angle of the cloister, of Norman work, but evidently of a later date than the promptuarium. He suggested, from the fact of the land to the north of the abbey having been given about this time, that it probably was the occasion of building the Canon's vestry, and subsequently the Chapter-house. It was necessary to inquire again among the charters and other documents for more historical information. This was to be found in the *Red Book of St. Werburgh*, now in the British Museum. In 1205, there is a *significavit*, or pastoral letter, from Peter de la Roche, bishop of Winchester, stating, that the church threatened "intolerable ruin"—that it was necessary to rebuild the choir and tower, (which latter word, Mr. Ashpitel observed, was in the singular number, and therefore disproved his first idea, that there were two flanking towers, as at Exeter); that some very small attempts, *incipiculos*, had been made to carry out this purpose, which had failed: and, finally, the bishop endeavoured to raise money for the purpose. How little success this met with, is clear from a pastoral letter from William, bishop of Coventry, for the same purpose, which describes the state of the church as deplorable—the choir open to the weather, and without doors.

It is clear from the style of architecture, that the vestry, the Chapter-house, and Lady chapel, are of date from 1220 to 1250; and, accordingly, we may suppose some new and unexpected source of wealth must have fallen in. In abbot Marmion's time, the convent could afford to elect an hereditary cook, and to give him large fees and privileges; and in abbot Pinchbeck's time, from 1221 to 1240, the monks were increased in number from twenty-eight to forty. It would be unreasonable to suppose this could be done without a large increase of revenue; and still more, that the great extra daily expense of a larger establishment would be incurred when the necessities of an extensive repair to the building pressed so heavily upon them. Mr. Ashpitel described the architecture of these respective parts at great length. He dwelt particularly on the beauties of the Chapter-house, which he considered, with its singularly tasteful vestibule, to be the finest in the kingdom of its form; and then took occasion to animadvert severely upon the tastelessness of a professed architectural critic, who could pass over the building with the cold criticism, "poor enough". He (Mr. Ashpitel) had been told the same story, and had come down to Chester with a heavy heart, and the fear that he should have an ungracious task, but he found beauties which grew on him more and more at every visit. The Norman remains are extremely fine—there is work of all kinds of great beauty—and there are the most curious and instructive transitions from style to style, that perhaps were ever contained in one building.

The next historical fact was, a quotation from the mutilated chronicle among bishop Gastrell's manuscripts. In 1259, as far as the passage can be deciphered, the convent met to consider the rebuilding of the church, and after some opposition, probably on the part of the abbot, as appears from the manuscript, the opinion of the convent was ordered to be carried out. About twenty years after this, a law-suit, which had been long pending between the abbot and a powerful family in the neighbourhood, terminated in favour of the abbot; by allowing his adversary an annual sum, he came into possession of four immense manors. There can be but little doubt that this accession of property gave a great impetus to the works of Simon

Whitchurch and his successors. At this period, it is probable the building of the choir commenced. An architect would suppose that the bays to the north end of the choir were erected first—there are some corbels of decidedly earlier date—and the bases of the piers are of such decidedly early English character, compared to the other work of the same description, that there can be but little doubt this was the first attempt at rebuilding.

Mr. Ashpitel then explained the different marks of transition during the progress of the works, and illustrated them by a series of diagrams, shewing the transition from the plainest attempts at tracery, to the richest specimens of decorated work; and yet, strange to say, the general idea and element is the same throughout,—from the simplest form, with three plain circles in the head. He shewed how a window, which might have been considered to be the richest and most elaborate of decorated Gothic, had, in effect, the same tracery elements for its basis. Returning to chronicles, we have during a long period the most scanty materials. It has only been by a careful collation of *disjecta membra*, that the scraps of antiquity have been collected; and it is only by careful industry they can be so adapted to the facts of architecture, that they can be made to dovetail the one with the other, and it is most satisfactory if they then do so. It would be evident to the eye of the architect, that the greater portion of the choir, the tower-arches, nay, even the nave itself, is of the decorated period, that is, including transition from 1280 to 1360. Now, what are the recorded facts? In 1259, the monks met to consider a rebuilding; in 1281, they came into possession of large property; and in 1284, we have a curious document. It appears that the first Edward visited the town on his way to repel the incursions of the Welsh; and in the seventeenth year of his reign, we find, in the *Red Book of St. Werburgh*, a grant of venison, directed to Reginald Grey, who seems to have had controul over the forests of Wirral and Delamere; and in a contemporary hand it states in the margin, that it “was for the monks engaged in the great work of rebuilding the church”. Similar grants follow in the same way. At last we get a grant of six bucks, six does, and one stag, probably a red deer, as distinguished from the fallow deer.

There is no reason, in short, to suppose that the works proceeded other than in regular order, following the even tenor of their way, till an unfortunate, and in fact disgraceful event, occurred to the monastery. We find that Richard Seynesbury, in 1362, had misconducted himself in such a way, that the prior of St. Alban, the head of the Benedictine order in England, and the prior of Coventry, formed a visitation, "to inquire into his offences and the extensive dilapidations". The painful result was, that the abbot fled from the inquiry. The abbey was under papal protection, being what was technically called an "exempt": the abbot appealed to the pope, went to Italy, and died in Lombardy.

It has been shewn, that there is a style that an architect would designate at once as that which prevailed from 1300 to 1360; and we then find work about the abbey that bears the character of at least an hundred years later; and yet these styles have been confounded together. It is deeply to be regretted, that when Dr. Ormerod published his great work, the knowledge of the style and period of Gothic architecture was as yet in its infancy. He would not otherwise have attributed to Simon Ripley work which seems to have been at least from eighty to a hundred years earlier; nor would others have attributed much of the work to the reign of king John, that clearly is at least a hundred years later. But before entering into this argument, as concerns the nave of the church, it will perhaps be well to turn our attention to the north transept, or the church of St. Oswald.

It has already been stated, that the church was dedicated jointly to St. Werburgh and St. Oswald. It is doubtful at what period; but it must have been early when it became a parish church. The architecture is certainly of about the period 1340 to 1360. Let us now consider our undoubted historical facts. For some years previously to the last-named period, it is probable that funds for the work were readily to be obtained. At the latter date, it is to be supposed they were absorbed by the cupidity and misconduct of Richard Seynesbury. If we regard the piers, capitals, bases, and above all the tracery of the windows on the east side, it is impossible to conceive that St. Oswald's can be later than 1360. If we follow now our historical facts, we shall find that

about this time, Roger bishop of Salisbury, by a sentence contained in the larger Chartulary of the abbey—a beautiful vellum manuscript in the Harleian library, No. 2062—that he “sentenced and condemned the parishioners of the altar of St. Oswald’s competently and honestly to enclose the cemetery in which their bodies are delivered to be held in ecclesiastical sepulture, and to the reparation and sustentation of the nave of the church of St. Werburgh, which is situated near the aforesaid cemetery in the wall, and the windows, and the covering (the roof), from the great door even unto the altar of St. Oswald.”

This sentence seems to have been utterly disregarded; the parishioners withdrew to the chapel of St. Nicholas, hard by, and we hear of nothing but contention; till in 1488, we are told the matter was settled by agreement. This agreement is in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 2159). It is certain that the church was now in a deplorable condition—their funds gone, the abbot disgraced—and every difficulty prevailing, till the election of Simon Ripley. In his abbacy the city and the abbey came to a final and cordial agreement. The indenture before alluded to, recites—“That for three and a half turns of timber, and certain moneys to be paid down by the mayor, the abbot would edifie and cause to be edified a new roof for St. Oswald’s, and the north side (query, west side) of the said church to be new roofed and guttered with lead.”

Dr. Ormerod has attributed the erection of the tower, nave, and transept, of St. Oswald’s church, to this abbot, but the slightest glance at the older part of St. Oswald’s will show the contrary. It appears that this notion has arisen from the fact, that the two letters, S and R, are found twined together in the carving of the caps; but it might have been that the carving, as is often the case, would be left till the completion of the work; or, what is still more probable, the letters R and S would represent Richard Seynesbury quite as well as Simon Ripley. In fact, is it in accordance with the notion of a bad and unscrupulous man, that he should have the vanity to attach his name to works in which he had no share? If we suppose much of the work attributed to Simon Ripley to be of the earlier period, we then have a consistent account of the church of St. Oswald. Every part of this is clearly

of the decorated period, except the roof of its nave and the windows of the west, or as it may have been called, the north-west side. These, and the windows of the south aisle of the nave of the cathedral, have positively perpendicular tracery, while the jambs, shafts, gabled canopies, the hollow, the ball flowers, and the clear indication of a decorated parapet, shew that the work could never be of the date 1488. But if we suppose this work to have been nearly completed in 1360, and then abandoned till the energy of Simon Ripley took up the matter, the whole is clear. The perpendicular windows in St. Oswald's and in the nave, the middle roofs, both to the great nave and that of St. Oswald's, may fairly be attributed to Simon Ripley, whilst the other work may as fairly be considered that of his predecessor.

Mr. Ashpitel then adverted to the appearance of the exterior of the church in its original state; and he pointed out many parts yet uninjured by the weather, which seems such a fatal and devouring enemy to the red sand-stone; and then inquired, whether in its original state it must not have been of exquisite beauty, and whether it was not even now such a building that none possessed of taste or feeling could pass without interest. He then exhibited diagrams of windows, shewing the different transitions in tracery, from the plainest early English to the latest perpendicular, and concluded the general heads of his address by a brief description of the present bishop's Consistory-court, which forms the lower part of a tower, the foundation of which was laid by abbot Burchenshaw, in 1508, and of the cloisters, which, as appears by the monogram, T. M., were erected by Thomas Marshall.

ON

THE RECORDS OF THE COUNTY PALATINE
OF CHESTER.

BY W. H. BLACK, ESQ., ONE OF THE ASSISTANT-KEEPERS OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

MR. BLACK began by stating that the use of the Shire hall had been obtained for the purpose of this lecture, by reason of its contiguity to the apartments (part of the same buildings) in which the records forming the subject of his lecture were deposited, and from which some of the original records might be produced in illustration of his remarks.

It was well known that the county of Chester was one, and the oldest, of the palatinates in England ; and, without entering on any discussion of its origin, the fact might be simply stated, that the ancient earls of this county exercised the entire government of it, and all the administration of justice, independently of the king, only acknowledging him as their superior lord. The supreme courts of this county were not the king's courts, but the courts of the earl palatine ; who held his own parliament, had his own justiciary, his own exchequer, and power over life and limb throughout his county.

It is much to be lamented, that no public records of Chester are known to be in existence, earlier than the time when it was annexed to the crown by king Henry III, excepting one small fragment of a roll, dated in the twenty-eighth year of that reign. Much of the early history and policy of this palatinate are therefore lost : but, as almost the same system was continued for a long time afterwards, under successive kings of England and their eldest sons, —princes of Wales and earls of Chester,—and as the records are extant, with little interruption, from the former part of the reign of Edward I, the public archives of this county contain the evidences of its history, for at least five centuries and a half. The records, both of Chester and of Flint, which, from ancient time belonged to “the sword” of the earldom of Chester, have always been preserved in Chester castle. When its separate judicature was abolished,

with that of other palatinates, by statute 1 William IV, c. 70, it was thereby directed, that the records of the abolished courts should, until otherwise provided by law, "be kept by the same persons, and in the same places, as before the passing of this act." The abolition took place in 1830; and, in 1838, the same records were, by the record act (stat. 1 and 2 Vict. c. 94), placed "under the charge and superintendence of the master of the rolls"; by whose authority a general survey of the records of Wales and Chester was made, by Mr. Black, in 1839-40, and his report, dated 31st of March, 1840, was printed in the appendix to the deputy keeper's first report to the queen, and laid before parliament.

The records in Chester castle belonged partly to the court of session of Cheshire, and great sessions of Flint, and partly to the exchequer of Chester. The former are the records of *common law*, and were in the custody of the late John Lloyd, esq., as prothonotary and clerk of the crown; the latter are those of the *fiscal, equitable, and mixed jurisdiction* of the palatinate, and were in the custody of Philip Humberstone, esq., as seal keeper. They remain under the care of the surviving deputies of those gentlemen, subject to the authority of the master of the rolls, and have never been removed from Chester.

1. In treating of the *common law records*, Mr. Black stated, that they might in general be described by the terms (1) *inrolments* and (2) *filings*.

1. The *rolls* extend from 10 Edward I (1281-2) to the autumn sessions of 1830; and contain entries of the judicial proceedings of the court, both in civil and in criminal causes, also, fines, recoveries, patents of office, and deeds. Specimens of the contents of these rolls were produced and read by Mr. Black, from the originals, of various reigns, both ancient and modern; and the passages selected not only served to show the general course of the proceedings, and ordinary contents of the rolls, but also exhibited some most curious and striking illustrations of ancient manners and customs, and obsolete forms of law. One of these examples, taken from the plea roll of 34 Edward I, affords not only a remarkable instance of the ancient "*appeal of murder*," and the uncertainty attending the suit of an individual against a murderer, but also a singular description

of the old English long-bow and arrows, together with the case of a mute, and the *peine forte et dure*; in reading which, Mr. Black referred to early statutes and law-books on these several subjects. The proceedings are headed, "Yet of the county of Chester, on Tuesday next after feast of the close of Easter, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of king Edward" (34 Edward I, 1206), and a literal translation (omitting only the surnames and descriptions of the parties, which are often repeated, as at the beginning), follows:—

"David, son of William de Huxle, appealeth John, son of Warin le Grovenour the elder, of the death of Richard, son of Robert de Pulford (grandson of the aforesaid David, son of William de Huxle), slain; that whereas the aforesaid Richard [etc.] was in the peace of our lord the earl of Chester, on the Sunday next after the feast of Easter, in the 34th year of the reign of king Edward, at the hour of midday, in the town of Budeworth, in the forest of Mara, to wit, in one place before the gate of Warin le Grovenur the elder, toward the south, by the space of the aforesaid gate of the aforesaid Warin le Grovenur the elder, where the same abideth in Budeworth, in the forest of La Mare, 20 feet of a man in length, toward the east, by 40 feet of a man in length, and toward the north by 40 feet of a man, and toward the western part by 40 feet of a man; where came the aforesaid John [etc.] feloniously, as a felon of our lord the earl of Chester, against the peace of our lord the earl, and the dignity of his sword, in the day, year, hour, and place aforesaid, and shot with a certain bow, cord, and arrow, the aforesaid Richard [etc.] in the right part, almost in the middle of the back, and made him one deadly wound, whereof the wound was of the length of one inch of a man, and of the breadth of half an inch of a man, and of the depth of six inches of a man; of which wound he died in the day and place aforesaid, between midday and the hour of vespers; and whereof the [*here is a blank for a word in the record*] of that arrow (*sagitta*) was of *boulo*, in the length of 24 inches of a man, and the iron was *smalhokethened*, whereof the length of the iron was two inches of a man, and the breadth of the iron was one inch of a man, and the fledge (*glechia*) was feathered with the feather of a goose, sewn up and bound with thread and silk of the value of a farthing; value of the iron, a farthing; value of the feathers, thread, and silk, a farthing; value of the whole arrow, three farthings; and the bow was of *yue*, of the length of 6 feet of a man, and the breadth of that bow $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches of a man, and the thickness of the bow 6 inches of a man; value of the bow, 8 pence; and the cord of the bow was of flax, in length 6 feet of a man, value of the cord, a farthing; and that bow he held in the left hand, and with his right hand

he shot the aforesaid Richard [etc.] ; and incontinently, after the death of the aforesaid Richard [etc.] so slain, the aforesaid David [etc.] raised the hue and cry against the aforesaid John [etc.], as a felon of our lord the earl of Chester, at the four next towns, to wit, Lowe, Mertone, Utkintone, and Wetenhale, and from the aforesaid townships to the coroners, and from the coroners until the aforesaid John [etc.], at the suit of the aforesaid David [etc.], was attached here in the court of our lord the earl of Chester; and if the aforesaid John [etc.] will acknowledge the aforesaid felony, it seemeth fair to him; and if he will deny, the aforesaid David [etc.] is prepared to prove the aforesaid felony against the aforesaid John [etc.], as a felon of the lord the earl of Chester, as a man at peace against a felon of the lord the earl of Chester, in whatsoever manner this court shall consider, of the death of the aforesaid Richard [etc.] feloniously slain, against the peace and dignity of the lord the earl.

“ Pledges for prosecuting, Robert de Huxle and Roger de Clottone.

“ And the aforesaid John [etc.] being present in court, behaved himself as a mute, nor cared to answer any thing, although many times, as well by the party as by the court, he was required. And because it was witnessed, as well by the coroners of the county, as by the keepers of the gaol, that the same John in coming from the county did speak, and yet could if he would; it was considered that the aforesaid John be committed to prison strong and hard, at the diet, until, etc.

“ Afterward, at the county, on Tuesday next after the feast of the holy Trinity next following, the aforesaid John, son of Warin, being alive, came, and likewise the aforesaid David de Huxle; and the same David asked judgment of the aforesaid John, as non-defendant. And the aforesaid John, son of Warin, again behaved himself as a mute, nor cared to answer any thing, although many times, as well by the party, as by the court, he was required. And it was witnessed by the keeper of the gaol aforesaid, that the same John, in coming, etc., did speak, and yet could if he would. It was considered that the aforesaid John be committed again to prison, hard and strong, until, etc. Afterward, at the county, on Tuesday next after the translation of St. Thomas Martyr, next following, came the aforesaid David and John; and the aforesaid David again appealed him as before. And the aforesaid John came, and defended all manner felony, and whatsoever is against the peace and dignity of the sword of the lord the earl; and asked allowance to be made to him of this, that the same David hath not made mention in his appeal of the bigness of the fledge (or arrow? *grossura flechie*), nor of the colour of the feathers of the fledge (*flechie*). Therefore, it is considered that the aforesaid John go quit at the suit of the aforesaid David, and the same David, for false appeal, be committed to gaol.

“ Afterward, the aforesaid John, at the suit of the aforesaid earl

(county? *com.*), being required how he would acquit himself of the aforesaid felony, says, that he is not thereof guilty; and hereof he putteth himself upon the country, to wit, upon William de Venables, Richard de Somerford, Richard de Anderton, Richard de Munshul, Robert de Keman, and Robert de Rowton; and all the others in the pannel contained he challenged. Therefore, it was considered, that the aforesaid John be committed to gaol and safe custody until the next county; and that, in the mean while, he have victuals and his necessities, as an acceptor of common law. And it was commanded to the sheriff that he cause to come, etc."

It is surprisingly strange that this appeal should have been set aside, on such an insignificant suggestion, after the statute of Gloucester had, in 1278, provided "that no appeal shall be abated so soon as they have been heretofore, but if the appellant declare the deed, the year, the day, the hour, the time of the king, and the town where the deed was done, *and with what weapon he was slain*, the appeal shall stand in effect, and shall not be abated for default of fresh suit, if the party shall sue within the year and the day after the deed done" (stat. 6 Edward I, c. 9). Happily, since the statute 3 Henry VII, c. 1, the facility for proceeding by indictment has made the appeal of murder obsolete, and almost unknown.

The next entries in the roll contain a curious story of another scene in the same tragedy, in the form of a presentment of the murder of Henry le Grovenur, committed by Richard, son of Robert de Pulford; but the result of the proceedings in these cases could not be ascertained, without further investigation of the rolls.

By these plea rolls, as well as by the statute 32 Henry VIII, c. 43, it appears that the ancient judges of Chester held frequent sittings: they had eight county days in one year, and nine in another, until the statute 27 Henry VIII, c. 5, limited them to only two sessions yearly, at Easter and Michaelmas. To remedy this evil, the sheriff of Chester was soon after authorized to hold a monthly shire court, for small debts.

Among these records are some few plea rolls of proceedings before the justices *in itinere*, a circuit having been made throughout this county, once in seven years; and like proceedings touching the forests, of the reigns of Edwards I and III, and Henry VII, some passages of which are highly curious.

Among these rolls are also, one roll of pleas of the *city* of Chester, 16-24 Edward I, and another of indictments in the *city*, of the same period; from both which some curious extracts were read. By an entry in the former roll, under date of 17 Edward I (1288-9), it appears that the abbot of Chester was accused of setting up a new court among his tenants, without the north gate of Chester "to the nuisance of the lord the king's court of the city of Chester." The *presentment* thereof was made "*by the twelve*" ("*Presentatum fuit per duodecim, super articulis coronam tangentibus*"); and the passage affords a striking illustration of one in Domesday Book, which says that, in the time of Edward the Confessor, "there were *twelve judges* of the city (*xii. iudices civitatis*), and these were of the men of the king, and of the bishop, and of the earl. If any one from the hundred stayed away on the day of sitting, without manifest excuse, he paid for a fine 10s. between the king and the earl." Sir Henry Ellis, in his *General Introduction to Domesday*,¹ calls them "*twelve magistrates*"; in another place² he conjectures, that they were similar to the "*Lagemen*" of Lincoln and Stamford; but, in his abstract of the population, recorded in the *Conqueror's Survey*,³ he supposes them to have been necessary members of the hundred court, "forming most probably the jury," etc. The record produced by Mr. Black makes it manifestly appear, that they formed *the standing inquest of the city*, and perhaps (in early times) of the county also.

Many other entries in these rolls of the *city*, were highly interesting. In one place, the official of the archdeacon of Chester is presented, for extorting money from persons impleaded before them, and *for proving wills*. In another, the rector of the church of Holy Trinity is accused of breaking into a house, and stealing herrings of the value of one shilling; and other persons for catching salmon fry (*salmonculos*), or for being known thieves. Among other complaints against city officers, it was recorded that Richard of Shrewsbury, sergeant of the west gate, took fishes from *ships which came up to that gate*. This last passage excited some discussion among the audience, as it proved that *ships* (whether great or small) were able to come up to the

¹ Vol. i, page 203, octavo edition, 1833.

² *Ibid.* page 205.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii, page 431.

water gate, and to the very walls of Chester, in the time of Edward I, though now they cannot reach it by several miles; and the marine trade is consequently transferred from the Dee to the Mersey, from Chester to Liverpool.

From a plea roll of the year 1656, Mr. Black read the proceedings at the trial of three witches, who were found guilty and executed at Boughton, at the autumnal session of that year.¹ This record was in English, as all other records of the Commonwealth were; before 6 George II, all judicial proceedings at common-law, and most other records, were in Latin. Mr. Black translated the passages as he read them, and stated that he had ascertained the total number of plea rolls for Chester and Flint to be no less than 1547.

2. The *filings* wholly consist of *original* documents of various kinds, partly relating to civil, and partly to criminal, causes. Among the former, the ancient files of writs contain many curious and singular documents, such as petitions in Norman French and in old English, precepts of Edward the Black Prince, etc., some of which were read. The final concords, relative to lands and tenements,² are in separate files from Edward I to 1830. The criminal proceedings constitute a voluminous series of files, made up in the form of rolls, intitled "*manucaptiones*" or "main-prize files." Mr. Black found it impossible to enter upon a minute description of the various species of common-law records; and therefore proceeded to treat, in the next place, of

II. The records of the *exchequer* of Chester. This court was coeval with the existence of the county palatine, and had jurisdiction, not only over all the revenues of the pala-

¹ At a subsequent meeting, the rev. W. Massie stated, that he found an entry of the burial of those three witches, in the register of St. Mary's parish, under date 8th Oct., 1656.

² Mr. Black stated, that duplicates of the fines and recoveries for the counties of Chester and Flint, Denbigh and Montgomery (which together constituted the old Chester circuit), from 1788 to 1829 inclusively, were in his own charge at the Rolls House, London. Here it may be proper to observe, in consequence of gross misrepresenta-

tions which have appeared in the *Athenæum*, and thence been copied into other papers, that no records whatever were taken by Mr. Black from London to Chester; but that the only records used by him, in or for the purpose of his lecture, were those deposited in Chester castle, some of which were produced and handed to him on the bench by Mr. Lloyd, jun. (son of the present keeper), and were, immediately after the lecture, taken from the Shire Hall to the Record-rooms up stairs, and restored to their places.

tinatinate, but also in matters of equity, having been declared, by all the judges of England in 1568, to be the "chancery court" of the palatinate. Hence all original writs issued that were current in the palatinate; and it had also a jurisdiction at common law, in matters of debt, apparently in the nature of a court of conscience. The chief officer and judge was the "chamberlain"; there were also the "baron", who acted as master and registrar. The seal-keeper had the custody of the seal, and of the records; which naturally divide themselves into two classes, the *financial* and the *judicial*.

1. The records proper to this court, as an exchequer, consist of various series; as, first, the *remembrance rolls*, containing grants of lands, offices and liberties, and all other instruments which issued under the seal of the palatinate, also recognizances of debts, etc. They extend from Edward II to Charles II. In the *chamberlain's accounts*, which extend from Edward III to Henry VIII, are recorded all the receipts and expenditure of the revenues of the palatinate, including alms and annuities to religious houses and individuals, expenses of the castles and garrisons of Chester, Flint, Rhuddlan, etc.; in short, almost the whole public history of the palatinate, and its dependencies in Wales, many of the affairs of which partook of a national character, is embraced within the one hundred and forty-three rolls of this denomination. The income from which this expenditure was made, and many of the local payments and allowances, are recorded in a more detailed form in the rolls of *ministers' accounts*; which severally relate to Cheshire, Flintshire, the hundred, borough, and forest, of Macclesfield, and the lordship, borough, etc., of Denbigh. They extend through the same period as the foregoing rolls, and are 426 in number. There are also *court rolls*, of like antiquity; and no less than 1985 *escheators' inquisitions*, which are, for this palatinate, of the same nature and value as those among the records of the chancery at Westminster, and those of the duchy of Lancaster, are for the rest of England. Besides other records, which cannot be particularly mentioned in this sketch, this exchequer contains—

2. The *judicial records* of the court. These consist for the most part of bills, answers, and other pleadings in equity; together with reports, orders, and decrees there-

upon: but, though they reach through several centuries, such is their extent, and such their want of arrangement, that the exact period has not been ascertained.

Mr. Black stated that he had made search for the old "Domesday of Chester", which belonged to this exchequer, and was deemed to be of high authority in the reign of Henry III. By a record at Westminster, of that age, it is called a "roll"; but a document of the year 1287, produced by Mr. Black, shows that it was a "book", in which entries continued at that time to be made; and he considered it to have been similar to the black books or red books of the exchequers at Westminster and Dublin.

The lecture was concluded with a general declaration of the value and importance of these muniments, of which the greater part has never been used for historical purposes. Mr. Black considered them to be a mine of unexplored wealth, and earnestly recommended them to the attention of lawyers, antiquaries, and the gentlemen of the county.

ON PALATINE HONOURS IN IRELAND.

BY SIR WILLIAM BETHAM, ULSTER KING AT ARMS, VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE term "*honour*" was applicable to all feudal possessions or lands in which the lord possessed power to hold pleas of the crown above *infangethef* and *outfangethef*, or jurisdiction of life and limb. Thus counties palatine were of the highest honours possessing pleas of the crown or regalities in which the lord was *cinctus gladio*, and thus created *earl* of the fee or county. And the form of indictment in such a county declared that any act committed was "against the peace of our lord the earl, his sword and dignity."

The earl was invested with *the sword* as the emblem of the power of the crown, delegated to him as *locum tenens* of the *suzerain* in a manner as a viceroy.

In England there were two counties palatine of which the

lords were earls, *Chester* and *Lancaster*, and one in Wales, *Pembroke*.

Durham, although made a county afterwards, strictly speaking, was not a *county palatine*, but a *palatine honour*, of which the bishop was the lord; he possessed the most ample jurisdiction of pleas of the crown, and all civil and even military jurisdiction. His authority was by prescription, and originated in the grants made by the Saxon princes, giving him *all power they possessed* with the lands granted; the ecclesiastical authority and possessions not being affected by the Norman conquest, the Norman law of palatine honours and fees continued and established the jurisdiction.

There were many simple *honours* in England, of which Ely alone now exists.

On the English conquest, Ireland was divided into many palatine honours, as Leinster, Ulster, Meath, Connaught, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, Dungarvan, Bray, Castledermot, Newry, and some others, of which Ulster alone was a *county palatine*, the lord, being *cinctus gladio*, was an *earl*; all the others were denominated *lords*, although some possessed more extensive jurisdiction and territory than the earl of Ulster.

LEINSTER.—The whole kingdom of Leinster was granted to Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, commonly called "Strongbow", with the exception of eight cantreds about the city of Dublin, which now, with the barony of Castleknock, originally in Meath, constitutes the county of Dublin.

This great *honour* of Leinster passed with the daughter and heir of earl Richard, lord of Leinster, to William Marshall, who, in her right, became *earl of Pembroke* and *lord of Leinster*, and was possessed by her five sons in succession, who were all called *earls of Pembroke* and *lords of Leinster*. They all died without issue, and Leinster was divided into five parts among their five sisters; these portions became each a palatine honour, but although these districts were made counties, or *shire ground*, as they were termed, the possessors thereof not being *cinctus gladio*, as *earls*, were always afterwards denominated *lords*, *seigneurs*, or *domini*, according to the language of the documents or records in which they were mentioned.

CARLOW.—Maud le Marshall, the eldest daughter, married, first, Hugh le Bigod, earl of Norfolk, by whom she had with others, Roger le Bigod, earl of Norfolk and marshall of Ireland, who conveyed Carlow to the crown, who granted it, with marshall-ship of England, to Thomas Plantagenet *de Brotherton*, the king's eldest son by his second wife, from whom the lordship of Carlow descended through the families of Segrave and Mowbray to the Howards, dukes of Norfolk and lords of Carlow, who were deprived of it by the Irish act of absentees, 20 Henry VIII, which vested Carlow in the crown. Maud married, secondly, William Plantagenet, earl Warren and Surrey, and, thirdly, Walter lord de Dunstanville.

WEXFORD.—Joan le Marshall, the second daughter, *lady of Wexford*, became wife of Warine, lord Montchesny, and had an only daughter, Joan, *lady of Wexford*, who was wife of William de Valence, half-brother to king Henry III, created earl of Pembroke, by whom she had a son, Aymer, earl of Pembroke, who died without issue, and three daughters, first: Isabella de Valence, wife of John, lord Hastings, of Abergavenny, to whom she brought Wexford; second, Agnese de Valence, wife of Maurice Fitzgerald, to whom she brought Geshil and Ophaley, and from this marriage descend the earls of Kildare and dukes of Leinster, who are the only known descendants of earl Strongbow, in possession, by descent, of any portion of the kingdom of Leinster,—she secondly became wife of John de Baliol, brother of Robert, king of Scotland, and thirdly of John de Avesnes; third, Joan de Valence, was wife of John de Canyn, to whom she brought Gainsborough, in England.

Isabella de Valence, the eldest daughter by her first husband, John de Hastings, had a daughter, Elizabeth, and a son, John de Hastings, lord of Abergavenny and Wexford, who had a son, Lawrence Hastings, lord of Abergavenny and Wexford, who was created earl of Pembroke, 1348, and was succeeded by his son, John Hastings, earl of Pembroke and lord of Wexford, who had an only son, John, who, dying without issue, the lordship of Wexford went to—

Sir Richard Talbot, of Goodrich castle, son of Gilbert Talbot, son of sir Richard Talbot, of Goodrich castle, by Elizabeth, only daughter of John, lord Hastings, and Isa-

bella de Valence, coheir of William, earl of Pembroke. Sir Richard Talbot, lord of Wexford, was father of the great sir John Talbot, lord of Wexford, who was created earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, and hereditary seneschal of Ireland, ancestor to the now earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford. The feudal honour or lordship of Wexford was extinguished by the act of absentees, 20 Henry VIII.

KILKENNY.—Isabella le Marshall, the third daughter of William, earl of Pembroke and *lord of Leinster*, became *lady of Kilkenny*, and was married, first, to Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and, secondly, to Richard Plantagenet, earl of Cornwall, second son of king John. By her first husband she had Richard, earl of Gloucester, who was father of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, who, by the princess Joan of Acre, daughter of king Edward I, had Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, who, dying without issue, his sisters became his coheirs. Elizabeth, the eldest, had the honour of Clare. Margaret, the second, was wife of Piers de Gaveston, earl of Carlisle; and Elinor, the third daughter, became the wife of Hugh le Dispenser, and had Kilkenny as her portion, which she and her husband sold to Edmund le Botiller, earl of Carrick, ancestor to the earls, marquesses, and dukes of Ormond, who do not appear ever to have exercised the rights or authorities of the palatinate.

KILDARE.—Sibilla le Marshall, the fourth daughter of William, earl of Pembroke and lord of Leinster, became lady of Kildare and the wife of William de Ferrars, earl of Derby, and had an only daughter, Agnes, who was wife of William de Vesey, who, in her right, became lord of Kildare, and was father of William de Vesey, lord of Kildare, who conveyed the lordship or honour of Kildare to king Edward I. The conveyance is enrolled on the plea roll, 25 Edward I, in the record tower, Dublin castle.

LEIX.—Eva, the fifth daughter of William, lord of Leinster, became *lady of Leix*, or Dunamase, in Ossory, now called the king's and queen's counties, she became wife of William le Bruce, lord of Brecknock, and had an only daughter, Maud, wife of Roger de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore and Leix, which vested in the crown in king Edward IV.

ULSTER.—This great palatine honour was granted to John de Courcy, who was *cinctus gladio*, and created *earl*

of Ulster. After his attainder, it was granted to Hugh de Lacy, and went with his heir to De Burgo, and at length also vested in the crown by descent in king Edward IV.

CONNAUGHT was made a palatine honour in favour of De Burgo, and also vested in the crown in Edward IV.

CORK was a palatine honour granted to Robert Fitz-Stephen, and vested at length in the Carews.

LIMERICK was also a palatine granted to de Braosa.

KERRY was a palatine honour granted to Fitz-Anthony, from whom it came by marriage to Maurice Fitzgerald, the ancestor of the earls of Desmond, on whose attainder, in the reign of Elizabeth, it ceased.

TIPPERARY.—This county was made a palatine honour in favour of Butler, earl of Ormond, who was not, however, made *earl of Tipperary*, but was always styled, "*lord of the regalities of Tipperary.*"

KILMAINHAM.—The honour Kilmainham, belonging to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, possessed most ample jurisdiction and royal pleas.

MEATH.—This great honour was granted to Hugh de Lacy by king Henry II, who gave him all the *royal pleas of the crown*, and everything the king had therein, "*quod ibi habeo vel illi dare possum*", in as full a manner as Mac Loghelin, the late Irish prince, had held it. This honour became divided between coheirs, one of whom, Margery, became wife of John de Verdon, who had the eastern part of Meath, called the *lordship of Duleck*; and Matilda, who became the wife of Gefferry de Geneville, who had the western part of Meath, afterwards styled the *lordship of Trim*. De Verdon's heir was attainted and his lordship escheated. De Geneville's lordship of Trim vested in the crown in king Edward IV.

I have now briefly touched upon the most remarkable *honours* of Ireland, and shall now merely glance at the distinction between palatine *honours* and simple *baronies*.

HONOURS.

Honours were lordships invested by the crown with the highest authority; they could hold pleas of the crown in criminal cases, and had the highest civil jurisdiction. In most cases the crown excepted four pleas, *arson*, *treasure trouve*, *forestalling*, and *rape of women*; all other juris-

diction was vested in the lord, whether an *earl palatine*, or merely a *palatine lord*.

These lords could create tenures and barons, or erect a fee into a *barony*, which gave the possessor the title of baron and the same rights and jurisdiction, within his barony, as a baron of the kingdom had, that is, jurisdiction of life and limb, or *infangethef* and *outfangethef*. They could also create burgage tenures, and incorporate towns, and grant by their charters of incorporation similar privileges to *their men* as the crown did. Most of the oldest towns in Leinster and Meath were incorporated first by these palatine lords, and many of their charters are extant on the plea rolls.

The noble persons holding these great palatine honours were always considered of the *barones regni*, and members of the curia regis, to which they were summoned, and might attend whether they were summoned or not; after the king's high court of parliament became a *legislative assembly* they were called *lords*, or *peers of parliament*, a title which grew out of the revolutionary movements which commenced under Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, in the reign of Henry III, and continued at intervals until the parliaments assumed the functions of legislation, and the forms and practice of the present day. The parliament, at first, by refusing to grant more money to the sovereign than was due by the tenures of the lands, until the crown conceded laws and privileges to the subject, by statute, which they held to be necessary, obtained at length the right of *consenting to the enactment*, and even to the *originating* of all laws as now enjoyed.

BARONS.

A barony consisted in the lord of a fee having the right to hold pleas of life and limb, or *infangethef* and *outfangethef*, within their territory with all inferior pleas. The baron was a member of the high court of jurisdiction of his lord, whether of the king or the lord palatine, and was bound to attend if summoned, and might attend whether summoned or not; which accounts for many of the lords or barons of parliament appearing to have attended, whose names do not appear in the list of those summoned on the close rolls. They might also be fined if they did not

appear when summoned; many entries of such fines appear on the great rolls of the pipe.

The freemen of the city of London and of the cinque ports were styled *barons*, because their charters granted them baronial jurisdiction of *infangethef* and *outfangethef*, or life and limb.

It has been said, that those who held by knight's service in chief of the crown, were called *barones minores*; I have never found them so called on the ancient records, and I am persuaded that they never had the *title of barons* in the olden time, and that those who did not possess the baronial jurisdiction of life and limb were never *legally* styled *barons*.

ON THE ROMAN WALL.

BY THE REV. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, M.A.

ROX, in his *Military Antiquities*, observes, that no country in the world contains such evident traces of the march of Roman legions, as England.

The most remarkable of these military monuments is the wall which extends from the Tyne to the Solway. This fortification consists of two parts: a stone wall, which, beginning at Wallsend, stretches to Bowness, and a vallum, or turf wall, which runs nearly parallel with it, falling short, however, of its extent by about three miles at each end.

I. The stone wall. Its width averages about eight feet. What its original height was is uncertain. Sir Christopher Ridley, in 1572, says, that it was then standing twenty-one feet; Camden and Cotton, in 1599, found it to be fifteen feet high; at present one fragment of it is nine feet ten inches high.

The masonry of the wall is remarkably strong. The facing stones consist of free-stone of a very durable character. They are set lengthwise into the wall, and the part exposed to the weather is cut transversely to the



plane of stratification. No bonding tiles are made use of, nor are any buttresses required. The heart of the wall consists of unhewn stones of any description, firmly cemented by a coarse, but hard mortar. Occasionally, these interior stones are disposed in the herring-bone form.

The tendency of the wall to move in a straight course is very remarkable. It shoots over the country in a right line, and only deviates from it to take the highest grounds in its vicinity. For nearly ten miles in the middle of its course it climbs a series of basaltic cliffs of considerable elevation, seizing tenaciously the very edge of the precipice, though in doing so it is obliged at frequent intervals to alter the angle of its direction. In this district numerous gaps or ravines occur in the mountain ridge; with remarkable boldness it descends into the valley, again to mount the steep ascent on the other side.

Excepting in these places, where the wall stands upon the edge of a precipice, it is accompanied by a deep and wide ditch on its northern margin. This fosse may yet be distinguished throughout nearly the whole of its course from sea to sea. In some places it is seven or eight feet deep, and twenty or thirty feet in width. Not unfrequently it has been excavated out of the solid rock. Such a defence must have contributed materially to the strength of the stone barrier.

II. The vallum, or turf-wall, as it is denominated in the country. This consists of a deep ditch, accompanied near its northern edge by a bold mound, and on its southern by two mounds of earth. These lines of earth-works are always perfectly parallel with each other, and they are usually found in close companionship with the stone wall. The *murus*, or stone wall, seems to have rolled back the tide of invasion from the north, whilst the *vallum*, or earth wall, guarded against a sudden incursion from the south.

It was not, however, upon walls, whether of earth or stone, that the Romans relied for protection, but upon their own living valour. Abundant accommodation was therefore provided for the residence of the soldiery. At distances along the line, which averages four miles, stationary camps were erected. These are usually placed upon an eminence sloping gently to the south, and gene-

rally occupy an area of from four to five acres. They are generally defended naturally, on at least one side, and on all their sides are surrounded by a moat and a strong stone wall. "The wall", in the majority of cases, either forms the northern boundary of the station, or comes up to the northern cheek of its eastern and western gateways, while the vallum protects its southern rampart, or comes up to the southern cheek of its doorways. These cities, long the abode of living men, and the scene of constant activity, now for the most part present a scene of utter desolation. The lines of the ramparts, streets, and suburbs, may be distinctly traced; but the whole, for the most part, is covered with a rich green sward. Although for centuries these stations have supplied the district in which they are placed with stone, many of them present to the antiquary an inviting field for research. Some excavations recently made at Cilurnum and Borcovicus, shew us, that were the requisite skill and labour bestowed, we might in our own land walk in Roman streets, and traverse Roman temples, little inferior in interest to those of Pompeii.

The walls of the stations seem (as was to be expected) to have been completed before the great wall with which they are connected was begun.

At intervals, between the stations, of about a thousand paces, quadrangular buildings, called *castella*, or in the country phrase, mile castles, were placed. These were probably the temporary abode of detachments from the main body, whose duty it was to maintain guard in the interval between one castle and another. The remains of one of these, which still exist in wonderful perfection, have recently been freed from the *débris* that has covered them for centuries. This castle measures sixty-three feet from east to west, and forty-nine from north to south. Its walls are eight feet thick. The gateways are of a peculiarly massive character, and have been secured by a double folding door. The pivot-holes of the doors are discernible in the threshold, slightly coated with oxide of iron. A wooden shed inside these massive walls was probably the only shelter afforded in an inhospitable clime to the soldiery in the service of Rome.

In each interval between the *castella*, four turrets, or watch towers, were placed. They were little more than

stone sentry boxes. They possessed, however, Roman strength; for though they contained a space of only eight or ten feet square, their walls were nearly three feet thick. When the whole line was manned—when the stations were replete with cohorts—when the *castella* had their minor detachments, and each turret had its sentry—vain would be the attempt of the impetuous, but undisciplined hordes of the north, to break through the imperial barrier.

In order to maintain intercourse between the various bodies of troops which garrisoned the wall, a carefully made road extended along the whole course of the fortification between the stone wall and the earthen rampart. In the cultivated districts of the country, the road has long disappeared, but for several miles in the hilly country it may be traced by an experienced eye. In most places it is completely grass-grown, but it is distinguished, not merely by its form, but by the herbage which covers it, for the dryness of its substratum admits of the growth of a finer description of plant. For the same reason, a sheep-track generally runs along it. The ability of the engineer in conducting this line of road along the precipitous part of the line is very apparent. Whilst the wall never swerves but in search of the highest and most precipitous summit, the road winds its tortuous course from platform to platform of the rock, so as to bring the traveller by the easiest gradients from one mile castle to another. Notwithstanding the skilful formation of the road, it could not in the hilly district be traversed with facility. To meet this difficulty, another road, altogether to the south of the lines of fortification, runs along a comparatively level tract of country. Beginning at Cilurnum, on the North Tyne, it passes the station of Vindolana, and again joins the other road as it descends from the heights in the neighbourhood of the station of Magna, near the western boundary of Northumberland. This lower road is shorter as well as more level than the other, and would, when the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants could be relied upon, be uniformly used by those not having business at the stations or mile castles in the intermediate part of the route. A miliarium or mile-stone still stands on the line of this road near the station of Vindolana; it is eight feet high. There are traces of an inscription on it, but it is illegible.

We shall entertain but a limited view of the strength of this barrier, if we view it singly. Carried along the northern slopes of the Tyne and Eden, it formed an artificial defence, in addition to the natural protection afforded by the bed of these rivers. Several out-stations, both to the north of the wall and on the south of the rivers, formed posts of observation, and places of security for the troops, when foraging, or when engaged in making inroads upon the enemy. The Watling-street is a Roman road which crossed the wall at right angles in the centre of Northumberland, and kept up the communication with Scotland, and the southern parts of England. The Maiden way in the western part of the line performed the same offices.

Although the wants of an increasing population, as well as the ceaseless efforts of nature, have done much to obliterate the Roman wall, much still remains to delight and instruct the antiquary. Without great difficulty it may be traced nearly the whole of the way from sea to sea. It bears decided testimony to the power, determination, and untiring industry of the great people who erected it. The idea of Gildas, that it was built by the Romans when on the point of abandoning the country for ever, is absurd. It must have been the work of the empire in the plenitude of its strength, not when in the throes of dissolution.

The earth-works are usually ascribed to Hadrian; the stone wall to Severus. Few, who attentively examine the barrier in all its parts, will fail to come to the conclusion at which Stukeley long ago arrived, "that both works were made at the same time, and by the same persons, and with the intent, that the one should be a counter-guard to the other, the whole included space being military ground." Upon no other supposition can the circumstance be accounted for, that in several instances, and sometimes for miles together, the vallum is commanded by the high grounds to the north of it, which are taken possession of by the stone wall.

Hadrian is generally said to have constructed the vallum, and Severus the stone wall. It is remarkable, that Herodian and Dion Cassius, who were contemporary with Severus, and write largely upon his reign, make no mention of any wall or other fortification which he erected in Britain.

Spartian, who wrote probably about eighty years after

the death of Severus, speaking of Hadrian's reign, says that the Britons could not be kept in subjection, and that the emperor himself went with an army to Britain, where he corrected many abuses, and first drew a wall (*murus*) for eighty miles, to separate the Romans from the barbarians. Respecting Severus, however, he says, "he fortified Britain with a wall drawn across the island, and ending on each side at the sea; which was the chief glory of his reign, and for which he received the name of 'Britannicus'."

The silence of Herodian and Dion Cassius does not comport with the latter statement. The circumstances in which Severus was placed when in Britain, render it exceedingly unlikely that he built the wall. He attempted the subjugation of the whole island, rather than the security of its southern portion, and in the vain attempt to subdue Caledonia he lost fifty thousand men. He was old and infirm, and was carried about on a litter. Domestic calamities greatly distressed him. His whole stay in Britain was three, or at most, four years. Is it likely, that during so short a sojourn, and in the midst of so many perplexities, he would have the leisure or the spirit to plan so great an enterprise, or the men to execute it?

The records which the wall itself yields from time to time, seem to point to Hadrian as its builder. It is impossible to examine all of these in this short abstract of the history of the wall, but one which was found in the foundation of one of the mile castles may be presented:—

IMP. CES. TRAIAN

HADRIANI AVG.

LEG. II. AVG.

A PLATORIO NEPOTE LEG. PR. PR.

There are several others of similar import, but dedications to Severus are exceedingly rare.

The great work seems to bear the impress of the bold and enterprising mind of Hadrian. But to whomsoever it is to be ascribed, it may well be denominated the master-piece of Roman work in Britain, and as such is worthy of the minute examination of the intelligent antiquary. In times past, it has suffered much from the hands of ignorant rustics, but there is reason to hope, that the present inhabitants of the district between Wallsend and Bowness, are aware of its value as an historic document, and will be loth to make any fresh inroads upon it.

NOTES ON ROMAN REMAINS AT CHESTER.

THE prefatory remarks in the report on an excursion to Caerwent and Caerleon, made after the Worcester Congress, will apply with equal force on the present occasion, in speaking, at the request of the Council, on the Roman remains at Chester; and, I may add, will in some degree qualify my observations, should they, on some points, be considered too superficial, or, on others, too discursive. In the department of our early national antiquities, the opportunities of discovering novelties, and of contributing fresh information to the already collected stores, are few, and only now and then presented, by chance, even to those who command the advantages of leisure, taste, and location. Antiquarian researches are at the best beset with difficulties. The all-absorbing idea of valuing everything for just as much and no more than it will fetch in the money-market, operates injuriously to the working antiquary, and exposes him to the certainty of being misunderstood by persons who interpret his researches through their own narrow notions, and this leads to discouragement and opposition. Should he live under more genial influences in one respect, other circumstances may not favourably combine to render his investigations conducive to archæological science. How very little do we know of the topography of our ancient towns and cities; of their public and domestic buildings, and of all those mental and physical conditions of the people which are necessary to be known before we can say we understand something of their history? And yet we can only hope to glean a little on many of these points through the labours of the local antiquary, who meets, perhaps, with little or no sympathy from his fellow-townsmen, or thinks himself fortunate, if his pursuits are not systematically opposed.

The visitor, who for the first time and for a brief period, enters a new field of research, labours under other disadvantages. The first and chief object of archæology is to collect facts in such a manner, that they may be systematically arranged and connected to form a basis for sound de-

ductions and conclusions. To effect such an object in a satisfactory manner, a long residence on the spot is almost indispensable, to render available the disclosures made by chance, which unless seized upon immediately, are lost for ever. Who, in perambulating the city of London, would suspect, that during the last few years so many vestiges of its ancient houses and inhabitants had been brought to light? And where would he look for them?—And the same with other places. The facts connected with their discovery have been gathered by a few who have devoted many years of daily watchfulness, to avail themselves of opportunities, and to counteract all sorts of uncongenial circumstances. Those, therefore, who visit a remote place for archaeological purposes, have generally more to learn than to teach, and must depend upon the kind cooperation of those residents who have qualified themselves to afford information and assistance. It is not, however, to be imagined, that the benefit is wholly on the one side. The interchange of ideas between persons of like feeling and kindred pursuits, must be productive of mutual good. Those coming from a distance into a new sphere of action, come unbiassed, and having no established or favourite theory on local matters to support, may raise wholesome doubts, and suggest inquiries, or may contribute information on points where evidence was weak, and means of comparison not abundant or palpable. Without, therefore, calculating on always effecting great and sudden beneficial results, our Congresses may produce, and in many instances, it must be admitted, have accomplished, much good. In the communion of thought and friendly feeling and services, they tend to break down those barriers to the promulgation of science, reservedness and indifference between individuals having a common end in view, and fitted, probably, by every qualification save that of personal acquaintance, to help each other.¹

The Roman name of Chester, *Deva*, is to be traced only in that of the river Dec, upon the bank of which it is situated. The word *chester* (signifying a fortified town, or a

¹ It must ever be borne in mind, that since the first congress of the Association, at Canterbury, in 1844, nearly twenty archaeological societies, and one metropolitan, have been established throughout the kingdom, several of which publish their proceedings periodically. This quick development of a general spirit of active inquiry, may be traced entirely to the successful result and good effects of that meeting.

castrum), which in so many instances terminates the names of towns of Roman origin, as Colchester, Silchester, etc., stands alone; in the *Saxon Chronicle*, it is called "*Legaceaster*", thus having for many centuries retained allusion to the long residence within its walls of a Roman legion. Deva is distinguished by the geographer Ptolemy, and the itineraries of Antoninus and Richard of Cirencester, in connection with the twentieth legion, surnamed *Valeriana*, or *Valens*, *Victrix*, which legion is mentioned in several inscriptions found in the city and in its vicinity.¹ Deva occurs only once in Antoninus, namely, in the long and winding route from the great wall (the subject of a work in the press, by the rev. J. C. Bruce) going by Carlisle to York, from York to *Chester*, from Chester to Wroxeter, Manchester, and Verulam, to London, and from thence to Richborough, making a distance from boundary to boundary of nearly five hundred miles.

Richard of Cirencester, in his treatise *De situ Britannia*, classes Deva among the colonial cities with the appellation of *Getica*, but it does not appear from what source he obtains this information. Goltzius gives a coin of Geta, reading COL. DIVANA. L. XX. VICT., which has been cited by Camden, Gale, and others, without suspicion of its authenticity; but unfortunately, the coin has never appeared in more modern times, and for this and other reasons may be pronounced entirely suppositious. In the itinerary of Richard, Deva occurs twice; in the first iter, from Richborough to Caer Segont, near Caernarvon; and in the sixth, from York to Chester; it is also included in the list of places in Britain, of the anonymous chorographer of Ravenna, as *Deva Victrix*.

The remains of the Roman towns in Britain enable us only to form a correct notion of their extent, strength, and importance, but, unfortunately, not of their internal arrangement, with, perhaps, some few exceptions. They were nearly all walled, and the line of circumvallation enclosed a much greater space than that occupied by the streets and houses. This is very apparent at Colchester, and must have been formerly so at London, and at other towns. Within the

¹ A paper on the twentieth legion, by the rev. Beale Poste, is published in the volume of the Proceedings of the

Association at the Gloucester Congress. It will be read with peculiar interest in connexion with the Chester monuments.

walls of Chester, there are, even at the present day, districts of open ground, which, with gardens and lawns, comprise a considerable part of the enclosed area. But it must be considered, that the modern disposition of streets is by no means a safe and general guide to the Roman plan. In Colchester, it is well known, that many gardens, orchards, court-yards, and such places, conceal the foundations of villas, and the remains of rich tessellated pavements; in London, in very many instances, it has been found that the modern streets run over and intersect dwelling-houses. At Cirencester, tessellated pavements have been frequently brought to light below the leading thoroughfares, and the sites of temples or public buildings, as well as domestic edifices, have been replaced by fields and meadows. The revolutions of ages, the changes in the habits, and in the civil and religious customs of the inhabitants, have thus transformed the architectural character of the towns. In some parts a layer of mould has accumulated to the depth of several feet, which, in the process of time, formed gardens or common fields; in other places, the ruined Roman houses have been built over, and their foundations are still continually being discovered, as firm and compact as ever, deeply buried beneath the *débris* of successive buildings of more perishable materials. The strong and well-built walls of the towns, erected with skill and labour, which were unparalleled in after times, were the last to give way to the force of the enemy, or to the stealthy encroachments of the citizens for building materials, when a change of circumstances rendered such bulwarks needless as means of protection.

The Roman town walls are yet among the most remarkable and interesting remains of the first four centuries of the history of our country, although in many instances they are fast perishing, from the neglect and apathy in which they are held by those whose duty it is, and whose care and delight it should be, to protect them as the earliest monuments of their civic institutions and annals, for which at times they so loudly profess respect and veneration. When innovation of civic rights is threatened, or when a diminution of some source of pecuniary interests is apprehended, antiquity is appealed to, and veneration for ancient institutions is loudly proclaimed; but remove

the cause of alarm, and the monuments which testify to the claims of old associations, and illustrate them, are left open to spoliation and the ravages of private and public speculations.¹

The chief feature in our Roman architectural remains throughout the land, is their decisive and marked character of construction. Everywhere, however the materials of the masonry may vary owing to local circumstances, there exists such an uniformity in design and arrangement, that the eye, when once habituated to discern the peculiarities, will seldom err or hesitate in recognizing them; and the same remark may be extended to every part of the Roman empire. The walls of the Roman *castra* and towns on the continent bear the same undeviating impress of individuality as those nearer the *ultima Thule*; there is the like unvarying adherence to rule and system in the works of the most remote and secluded parts of far-distant Britain as in those of the mother country. This observance of a fixed and general rule, understood and practised equally by all for several centuries, is to be noticed as influencing the details as well as the general principles of Roman architecture. The tiles of various kinds which entered so largely into the masonry of the public and private buildings of the Romans, seem all made at the same time by the same hands, and the mortars and their application are equally regulated by similar unchanging rules.

Those who have observed and compared the Roman system of castrametation, and that of the construction of villas, in various parts of our country, will at once admit the palpable truth of these remarks, and they will not be the less impressive, because in some respects they cannot be illustrated by what we have inspected at Chester. Here, the construction to which we alluded, has been deviated from so thoroughly, that it has been questioned whether any vestiges of the original Roman walls are yet extant. The usual alternate courses of stones and tiles which cha-

¹ A few years since, the remains of the old boundary wall of the city of London, were voted by the Court of Common Council to be pulled down! They were given up to the Church Building Society, under the covert view of getting some ground from the

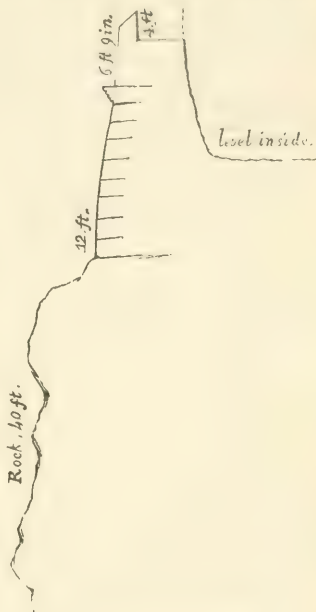
society, in a more central situation, in return. Sir R. Inglis, when he saw the drift of the gift, declined its reception on the part of the society, and the city wall was thus preserved, in spite of all the efforts of the corporation to destroy it.

racterize the walls of London, Colchester, Verulam, York, Lincoln, Caerleon, and other towns, are nowhere to be discerned at Chester; and a superficial observer would be tempted to decide, that in the reparations of subsequent times, the remains of the original work had been totally encased or destroyed. Such, however, is not the fact; and we are indebted to the rev. W. H. Massie, for laying before us at the late Congress, the results of a close and patient examination of the walls, and for directing our attention to particular parts which, he had noticed, varied so remarkably from the general construction, and at the same time harmonized so strikingly with each other, as to incline him to believe he had detected the original Roman work among the anomalous and perplexing styles of different periods, by which it was surrounded and imbedded. Mr. Massie's opinion was confirmed by the judgment of all who surveyed the walls under his guidance. Our investigation commenced outside the city, between the East gate and the Phœnix Tower, which occupies the north-east angle of the town, near the Caley gate, which was a postern granted to the abbot in the reign of Edward I, as a means of communication with the kitchen-garden of the monastery. Close to this postern the remains of the Roman wall are conspicuous in the lower courses. The stones are squared blocks a foot, and about eighteen inches on the bed, of the red sand-stone of the district, set entirely without mortar. It is worthy of notice, in attributing this and other parts of the city walls, to be hereafter pointed out, to the Roman period, that these blocks are of a much more compact and durable grit-stone than that dug at Chester, which constitutes the portions of the walls of later date, resembling the stone procured from Helsby Hill, seven miles distant, and also from Peckforton. This fact is an illustration of the advantage the archaeologist may occasionally derive from the assistance of the geologist; and another curious fact here presents itself, and shews that even the botanist may in like manner aid our researches. The Roman stones are more or less covered with a species of red lichen, while those adjoining grow a lichen of a green colour. The texture of the stone being, as before remarked, different, accounts for this remarkable difference in the lichens. Thence we passed along the canal side,

which is overhung by the north wall of the city, at an elevation of sixty feet at least, abrupt and perpendicular; about twenty feet of this is wall, the other forty are rock, scarped. At the distance of about seven feet from the top of the parapet, the Roman portion is terminated by a cornice, which extends in broken lengths for at least one hundred yards. The original parapet, we must conclude, stood above the existing cornice, though no trace of any such work remains. The annexed cut, from a sketch by Mr. Massie, together with the subjoined section, will con-



Roman work in the north wall of Chester.



Section of rock and north wall.

vey a clear notion of this hitherto unpublished portion of the Roman wall of Chester. The courses of stone are regularly a foot deep, and the blocks from eighteen inches to two feet on the bed, a feature equally characteristic in other parts of the walls where Roman work can be identified. The preservation of the Roman wall at this spot is chiefly owing to its lofty and protected elevation, and possibly also in some degree to its northerly situation, which, it has been noticed, is always favourable to the preservation of the grit-stone of the district. The silence of

topographical writers shews, that if Roman work had been suspected to exist in the Chester city walls, it had never before been verified. The late Mr. Harrison, the architect of the castle, who spent much of his early life in Rome, stated, that when he pulled down the old North-gate to build the new one, he found the old substructure to be Roman; he also considered the cornice, spoken of above, to be Roman.¹

We then passed on to the Roodeye, and inspected the ruined portion of wall there. Four or five courses of the stones nearest the ground only remain; they extend a considerable way into the field beyond the line of the modern wall; are perfectly similar in dimensions and character to those described above. This portion is rounded, and might indicate the angle of the Roman fortification, though the swelling out of the embankment a little further on may lead to the conjecture, that the original wall had been continued to the new road. The question would be set at rest by excavations, which it is to be hoped the corporation of Chester will enable the newly-formed local society to undertake.

We next examined a semicircular Roman arch adjoining the Julian tower. It is partly encased in Norman masonry, and is in excellent preservation. The stones are set in a thick reddish mortar, which has been neatly pointed in an unusual manner. From reports, the truth of which we were unable to test, it may be inferred, there is yet to be found more Roman work within the town, and in the foundations. During some repairs in the side wall, contiguous to the Roman arch, a fragment of a Roman sepulchral monument was taken out of the masonry in which it had been worked up. It was exhibited in the temporary museum; but the few remaining letters revealed no more than the fact that the heirs of some person had erected the monument to his memory.

The old shipgate, reconstructed and preserved in Mr. Finchett Maddock's garden in the Abbey court, was also visited. This arch, of reputed Roman work, was formerly

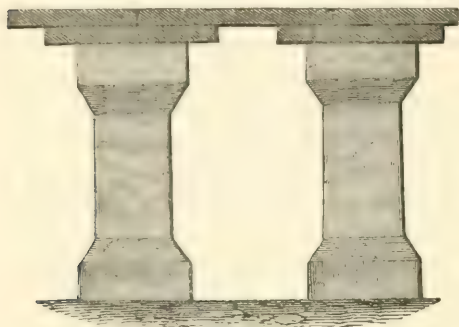
¹ This evidence is also embodied in the inscription over the new gate:—
 “Portam septentrionalem a Romanis
 substructam, vetustate jam dilapsam,
 impensis suis ab integro restituendam
 curavit Robertus comes Grosvenor a.r.
 Georgii tertii LI, etc.—Thomâ Harrison
 architecto.”

the postern leading from the castle to the river (on the south side), where, in former times, was the common passage across the Dee (by the rock called Edgar's rock, on which is carved the image of Minerva), through Netherly to Aldford. The rock here would appear to have been cut away to make way for the road, and the figure of Minerva would then be a conspicuous object. Considerable pains have been bestowed on the execution of this monument, although time has effaced the sharpness of outline, and worn down the surface of the stone. The goddess is represented helmeted, with spear and shield, standing under a recess formed by two columns surmounted by a pediment; over her left shoulder appears the sacred owl; the base of one of the columns is widened so as to form an altar. By the side of this image a cave has been cut in the rock. This is of subsequent date to the monument, for in excavating it, the shaft of one of the columns has been cut away. Blind devotion in the middle ages may have mistaken the figure for an image of the Virgin, and the cave may have been formed to receive the offerings of devotees.

The east gate, of Roman architecture, was pulled down in the latter part of the last century. It consisted of two arches, partly concealed by a tower, of much later date. Of this gate a view is published by Pennant,¹ and another by Mr. Musgrove, 1828, from an original drawing made in 1774, very unlike each other. The latter, in an appended description, states that the gate was composed of four arches, two in each line, and fifteen feet apart; the height, sixteen feet; the breadth thirty-nine. In the middle of the gate, fronting the east, and ten feet from the ground, was a statue of a military figure, sculptured upon a large stone, and grooved or fixed in the gate by a kind of dove-tail work. This figure, as represented, has more the appearance of work of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, than Roman; but the original drawing may have been inaccurate. At all events, it would be desirable to set on foot a search for the statue, as well as for the Corinthian capital stated to have been found several feet under ground when this gate was pulled down; it is probable both may yet be found in private possession.

¹ "Tour in Wales", 2 vols., London, 1784.

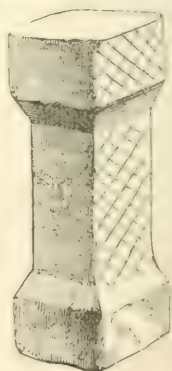
I have before observed, that the distinctive feature in Roman architecture and sculpture at Chester, is the red sand-stone of the locality, the rock upon which the city is built. The use of this stone appears to have been almost universal. In the well-known hypocaust in Bridge-street,



Pillars, 2 feet 10 inches high; tiles, 18 inches square.

a section of which is shown in the annexed cut, it supplies the place of the tile-columns, which are so commonly used in Roman buildings as supports for the floors, and of which, examples in the villas, in Thames-street, London, and at Ickleton, published in our *Journal*, may be referred to. The arrangement of this hypocaust in rows of pillars supporting large tiles, upon which was laid the thick stratum of mortar to receive the tessellated pavement, is precisely similar to the construction of the foundations of the former building. One of the sand-stone columns which was exhibited in the museum (taken apparently from this hypocaust) is exhibited in the annexed cut.

The twentieth legion, which had its chief quarters at Chester during a long period of the Roman occupation of Britain, is usually styled in inscriptions, LEG.XX.V.V., and LEG.XX.VAL.VIC. The V.V. have been interpreted *Valens*, *Victrix*, and *Valeriana*, *Victrix*. Dion Cassius¹ calls it by the latter terms, and refers to its being stationed, in his time, in upper Britain. There was, however, a twentieth legion styled, *Valens*, *Victrix*, as would appear from an inscription, but not relating to Britain; and thus the British legion has usually been read: but the evidence seems in favour of *Valeria* or *Valeriana*. This legion was transferred by Claudius from



Hypocaust column.
2 ft. 10 in. high

¹ Lib. IV.

Belgium to Britain. In the battle which proved fatal to the heroic Boadicea, the glory of the victory was divided between the twentieth and the fourteenth. It was probably engaged under Ostorius, in subduing the Cangi, a tribe occupying the territory now known as Cheshire and Shropshire; and we may conjecture, that at this time the legion was first stationed at Deva; but unfortunately, inscriptions do not assist in tracing either the movements or history of the legions at so early a period, or in illustrating the meagre and inconsecutive historical notices relative to the general history of the province of Britain. After Trajan, and particularly during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, inscriptions abound, referring mostly to military operations along the line of the great Roman wall; many of these relate to the twentieth legion, and to detachments of it, and frequently they record its cooperations with the second legion, the head-quarters of which were at Caerleon. In the temporary movements of the legions for public works, the second and the twentieth seem to have been particularly associated, as will appear by reference to Horseley, Hodgson, and, I may add, to the forthcoming work on the Roman wall, by the rev. J. C. Bruce. But one curious and interesting evidence of this fact has been overlooked by our antiquaries, and which it is here in place to mention. It occurs on an engraved metallic plate, figured in Buonarrotti.¹ A notice of this remarkable monument has been printed for the "*Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*", now in the press, and it is here transcribed *verbatim*:—"This plate is circular. It bears, in a style of workmanship which betokens a late period, a design intended to denote two of the British legions,—the twentieth and the second. Each is represented by five soldiers, armed, and bearing circular, or rather oval, shields, standing in line opposite to each other. The foremost soldier of the twentieth legion carries a military standard, beneath which is inscribed, in two lines, LEG. XX. VV.; behind which is the figure of a wild boar,—its emblem or device. The other group is, in like manner, described by a standard and inscription, in three lines, LEG. SECVND. AVGVS., with a capricorn. Between are the words, AVRELIVS. CERVIANVS;

¹ Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi. Roma, MDCXCVIII.

and beneath the twentieth legion, *VTERE FELIX*. In the upper part of the circle is an eagle, standing upon what seems to have been intended for a thunderbolt; and in the lower half of the area are various animals, namely, a dog chasing a rabbit, a hound pursuing a stag, a lion, and two peacocks, drawn in a rude and somewhat grotesque style.¹ Who Aurelius Cervianus was, or on what occasion the patera was inscribed to him, must remain a mystery. He would appear to have been, in some manner, connected with the two legions when associated. The twentieth legion, whose head-quarters were at *Deva* (Chester), was often in cooperation with the second legion at earlier periods than any to which the peculiar fabric of this plate of brass will warrant our assigning its date; and long previous to the time when the second is last mentioned during its stay at Rutupiae. It is not named in the *Notitia*; but that omission does not positively prove it may not still have been in Britain, although it is probable it had quitted the island before the compilation of that work." It is very probable, that some of the foreign soldiers mentioned in the *Notitia*, as *numeri*, *alæ*, and *cohortes*, stationed along the line of wall, and on the Saxon coast, may have been drawn from this legion.

Dr. Musgrave, in his valuable dissertation on the twentieth legion,² commits an error, which here demands rectification. It is in relation to the altar of Longus and Longinus, dug up at Chester, which bears the following inscription:—*PRO . SAL . DOMINORVM . NN . INVICTISSIMORVM . AVGG . GENIO . LOCI . FLAVIVS . LONGVS . TRIB . MIL . LEG . XX . LONGINVS . FIL . EIVS . DOMO . SAMOSATA . V . S .* The Augusti for whose welfare this altar was erected by a tribune of the twentieth legion, and his son, were probably Diocletian and Maximian, under whose joint reign Carausius assumed the purple in Britain, by means, as would appear from his coins, of the second, the twentieth, and some other legions.

¹ Dr. Rigollot, the president of the Society of Antiquaries of Picardy, who is preparing for publication a memoir on the objects found in the burial-places of the Teutonic peoples of the fifth and sixth centuries, informs me, that he notices a close analogy between the work on this bronze plate, and

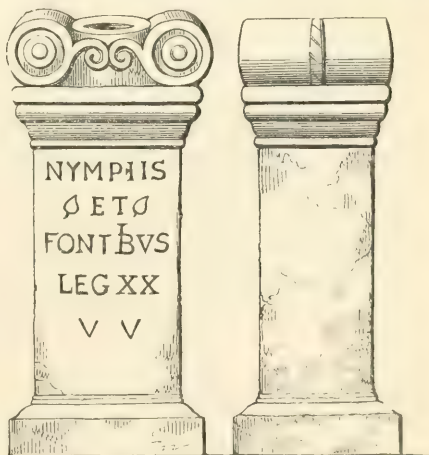
the designs upon buckles of sword-belts found, with weapons, in graves which he assigns to the fourth century.

² A translation by the rev. Beale Poste, is embodied in his paper, printed in the Proceedings of the Gloucester Congress.

Dr. Musgrave, in illustration of the adherence of the twentieth legion to the cause of Carausius, cites a coin of the *Par* type, which does not belong to the legionary series, and omits notice of one inscribed, LEG.XX.VV., with the figure of a boar, which has exclusive reference to this legion. The persons who erected this altar were of Samosata, a town in Syria, celebrated as the birth-place of Lucian.

The next important monument relating to Chester and the twentieth legion was first published by Selden, and in Horsley's time was in the Arundelian collection, at Oxford. He describes the inscription as being almost effaced, but still discernible, and he gives it as follows:—I . O . M . TANARO . T . ELVPIVS . GALER . PRAESENS . GVNTIA . PRI . LEG . XX . V . V . COMMODO . ET . LATERANO . COS . V . S . L . M . It is of earlier date than the former, being under the consulate of Commodus and Lateranus (A.D. 154). The dedication is to *Jupiter Tonans*, under the Teutonic equivalent, *Tanarus*, the Thunor or Thor, whose eminence in the northern mythology is well known. His attributes were almost identical with those of the Roman Jupiter, and his worship in Britain is still indicated in the name of the fifth day of the week, *Thor's day*, or *Thursday*, and in the names of places, as *Thorley*, *Thundersley*, etc., and also in the old name of the Roman wall, *Thwertonerdyk*.¹

The inscription which next claims our attention is cut on a handsome altar in red sand-stone, four feet high, which was found, in 1821, in a field called "the Daniels," in Great Boughton, about a mile east of the east-gate, between the Tarvin and Huntingdon roads, and



Roman altar at Eaton.

¹ There was a river *Tanarus* in Belgic Gaul, and one of the same name in Italy.

is now preserved at Eaton, the seat of the marquis of Westminster. This altar is dedicated to the nymphs and the fountains (*nymphis et fontibus*), by the twentieth legion, and the inscription is repeated on the opposite side of the altar, obviously for the purpose of being read from two points of approach. It is interesting to know, as explaining why this altar was erected on that particular spot, that the only good water about Chester springs on that side of the town, and that the old abbot's well is in those quarters, from which water was formerly brought by pipes to the monasteries in Chester.

As with the works of art, so with the mental character of the Romans, their thoughts and feelings, their monumental inscriptions, whether military, domestic, or mythological, seem, in whatever country they are found, dictated from prescribed formulæ, which are modified by circumstances. Thus, we find the same terse, sententious, and expressive style of dedication in Italy, Africa, Germany, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. In the mythological class to which the altar before us belongs, we find everywhere, not only all the great divinities with which the classical student is acquainted, but also an innumerable host of local deities, gods, and goddesses, named from rural districts, towns, and rivers, or addressed simply as the *genii* of the places. It was a leading part of the Roman policy, not to disturb the religion of the countries they conquered; they propitiated the gods of their enemies, and introduced them to a share of the rites and services of their pliable, tolerant, and comprehensive system of religion. The formulæ remained the same; they were merely adapted, by an alteration of words, to suit all countries and people. Where the gods of foreign nations assimilated to those of their native country, they were, as in the case of Jupiter and Tanarus, united and worshipped together. Virgil makes Æneas reverence the tutelary gods of Italy, on whose shore he had but just arrived:—

“ — Hæsternumque Larem, parvosque Penates
Lætus adiit.”¹

And the “nymphs and rivers as yet unknown”:

“ — Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
Fluvium.”²

¹ *Æn.* viii. l. 543.

² *Æn.* vii. l. 137.

The nymphs and the Tyber are addressed by Æneas as holding almost supreme sway over his destiny :—

“ Nymphæ, Laurentes Nymphæ, genus amnibus unde est ;
Tuque, ô Tybri, tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
Accipite Ænean, et tandem arcete periclis.”¹

References to the nymphs and river gods are very numerous in ancient poetical fiction, but the deep reverence with which they were treated is nowhere more forcibly shewn than in a passage in Tacitus. That historian tells us, that when it was debated in the senate, whether, in order to prevent the inundations of the Tiber, it was proper to change the course of some of the tributary streams, it was urged, amongst other arguments, against the proposition, that regard was to be paid to the religion of their Latin allies, who, esteeming the rivers of their country sacred, had dedicated to them priests, altars, and groves.² An inscription, published by Gale and Horsley, as having been found at Chester, may be here mentioned. It reads, in three lines, DEAE . NYMPHAE . BRIG., from which Gale concludes, that Chester was included in the country of the *Brigantes*; but it must be borne in mind, that if the Romans adopted the gods of the places they visited, they did not forget those of other countries or districts whom they had formerly worshipped. Thus we have numerous instances of inscriptions, found in this country, to the deities of remote places and distant countries. Horsley has published an inscription to this goddess, styled simply *Brigantia*; she is represented winged, standing under a canopy, with spear and shield, wearing a mural crown, and holding a globe; on her breast is what appears to be a Medusa's head; the composite character of this divinity is remarkable : in general appearance, as Horsley has sketched it, the figure much resembles that of Minerva, sculptured on the rock before referred to.

There are many inscriptions to the nymphs extant. In some, they are associated with the superior divinities; in others, they are addressed simply, “ Nymphis”; sometimes they are styled as the nymphs of the particular

¹ Æn. viii, l. 71.

² “ Spectandas etiam religiones soci-
orum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis
amnibus dicaverint.” *Annal. lib. i, c. 79.*

localities, or, indefinitely, "Nymphis Loci", and Gruter gives an inscription commencing, "Nymphis quæ sub colle sunt"; in another, "Nymphis Lymphisque, Aug. dulcissimis", they are invoked conjointly with the waters or streams. Fountains, and the sources of rivers, were in like manner held equally sacred, and distinctly personified. Ausonius¹ addresses the fountain Divona with lavish praise and adoration:—

"Salve, fons ignote ortu, sacer, alme, perennis,
Vitree, glauce, profunde, sonore, illimis, opace.
Salve urbis genius, medico potabilis haustu,
Divona Celtarum lingua, fons addite Divis."

"Fontibus Divinis" occurs in Gruter's collection of inscriptions; and an interesting notice will be found in the *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 404, on the discovery of the remains of the temple of the *Dea Sequana*, at the source of the river Seine, with a large quantity of votive offerings, which had been suspended at her shrine by devotees; and numerous inscriptions extant in England and on the continent, shew the great popularity of this series of subordinate divinities. They were the last to yield to the influence of Christianity, and retained a strong hold on the popular mind long after the destruction of the temples and worship of the *dii majores* of the pagan mythology. The wild men of the woods replaced the satyrs, fairies, and *bonnes dames*, and succeeded the *matronæ* and nymphs. An edict of Charlemagne forbids offerings to fountains, stones, and trees, and the lighting of torches before them. But neither decrees nor councils could abolish completely these ancient practices and superstitions; and, accordingly, we find that many were appropriated by the church; and in all parts of Christendom popular beliefs became consecrated and interwoven in its legendary history. On the present occasion, I need only refer to the story, from a manuscript of the tenth century, of the three nymphs who presided over the district of Winchester, and to the fabliaux of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, communicated to us by Mr. Wright.²

¹ *Clare Urbes*, xiv, l. 29.

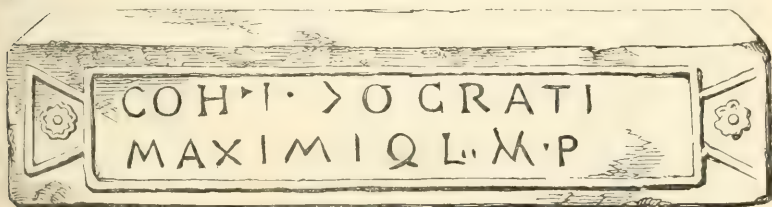
² On Certain Mythic Personages mentioned on Roman Altars, found in

To return to the twentieth legion. The least regarded, but not the least curious of the inscriptions, connected with its long stay at Chester, are the tiles stamped with its mark, usually across the centre; one of which, selected from several preserved in the office of Mr. Baylis, is here shewn. These tiles, used both for public and private edi-



Two-thirds of the actual size.

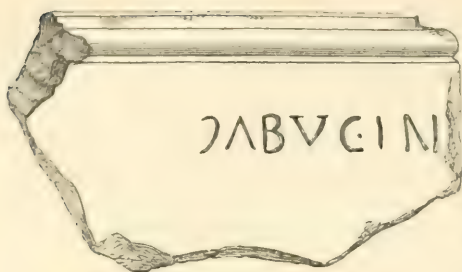
fices, were manufactured by the soldiers of the legion, as those at York and Caerleon were by the sixth and second legions, whose names in like manner they bear. The Roman soldiers in times of peace were not permitted to be idle; they were masons and sculptors; they dug and prepared the stones, and built houses and public edifices, constructed roads and tilled the fields. To the Roman soldiers we are indebted for nearly all the inscriptions discovered in this country, which abound in the districts where they were regularly quartered, or employed on public works, and are comparatively scarce in other localities. To the century of Ocratius Maximus of the first cohort of the twentieth legion, the annexed inscription is to be ascribed;



Two feet in length.

it has evidently been a facing stone, probably in the city wall; it resembles in character the centurial commemorations on the stones of the great northern wall, and like them, apparently refers to the completion of a certain quantity





2 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 2 inches.

of building. To this class belongs the fragmentary inscription relating to the century of Abucinus, recently dug up near Common-hall-street, and represented in the annexed cut. A stone similar to that on the preceding page, but which was

never inscribed, has been inserted into the Town wall opposite the Rope-walk.

Two inscribed stones, found at Chester in the last century, may be here referred to. The first of these was dug up in Watergate-street, in 1729, in excavating for a cellar, and is published by Horsley, who states, that it is a kind of slate brought from a distance. The stone was broken, and the fourth line of the inscription appeared to have been intentionally erased; it was considered that half the stone had been lost; what remained of the inscription reads thus:—

NVMINI. AVG—ALMAE. CE. T—NVS. ACTER—EX. VOTO. FACE—.

Restorations of such imperfect inscriptions are never satisfactory; but the well-known fact of the removal of the name of Geta from all public monuments, by order of Caracalla, leads to the conjecture, that the erased line contained an allusion to that unfortunate prince, and that the word *almæ* may have been here applied to the empress Julia, his mother. The second stone is an altar erected by the family and freedmen, for the health of a person holding a military office, but whose name is not very legible, to *Fortuna Redux* and *Æsculapius*. It is sculptured on the back with drapery and fruits, and on the sides with sacrificial instruments, and the symbols of Fortune and Æsculapius.¹

There is also to be mentioned, to complete this epitome of former discoveries, a small statue of Mithras, found near the river, figured in Horsley, and the *Retiarius*, in slate, exhibited in the Chester temporary museum, which has been engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, and also by Lysons.

¹ An engraving of this altar is published in Lysons' "Magna Britannia", vol. ii, Part II. It is stated to be preserved at Oulton Park.

A short time previous to the congress, a valuable addition was made to the collection of Chester antiquities, in a small votive altar, exhibited in the annexed cut. It was found by Mr. William Ayrton, jun., at Boughton, where it had been brought to light in digging for sand, near the spot where the altar dedicated to the nymphs and fountains was discovered. The inscription I read thus:—

GENIO. AVERNI. IVL. QVINTILIANVS. :

Julius Quintilianus to the Genius of Avernus. Examples of

dedications to genii are exceedingly numerous. One to the

Genius Loci (that is of *Deva*), has been noticed in this paper;

others occur to the genii of the army, of the imperial family, of

the Roman people, of private individuals, of cities, of theatres, of forums, of granaries, of fountains, of localities,

etc. The genii were supposed to preside over the actions of mankind, as protectors, counsellors, and mediators, holding,

as subordinate ministers of the gods, an intermediate position between them and the affairs of the world. Of

the genius of Avernus, I find no other mention; but the locality in which the altar was found confirms the literal

interpretation, that the genius of the well-known lake in Campania, is here to be understood as addressed by Julius

Quintilianus. The waters of this lake were much used by the Romans in magical rites, as the classical reader

will be reminded by the line in Virgil's description of the incantation scene, preparatory to Dido's death:—

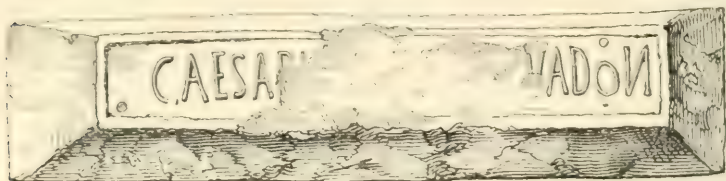
“Sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Avernii.”

Among the objects of antiquity exhibited during the congress, in the temporary museum in the King's School, was a block, or pig of lead, which had been recently found near Common-Hall-street, embedded in a thick wall several feet under ground. It is exhibited in the annexed cut. Unfortunately, the inscription, which originally had been well



Roman altar found near Chester, July 1849.
Height, 11½ inches; width, 7 inches.

stamped, has so perished from oxidation, that its restoration cannot with safety be proposed, especially as it exhibits a reading different from those of a similar description,



Estimated weight $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.

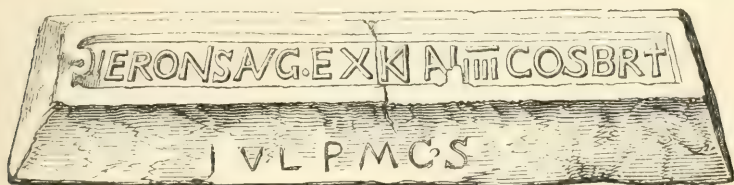
which are yet preserved, or on record. Camden mentions, that several of these pigs of lead had been found in Cheshire, inscribed IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GER. DE. CEANG., and IMP. CAES. DOMITIAN. AVG. COS. VII. BRIG. One similar to the latter of these was found, in the last century, at Hayshaw Moor, in Yorkshire, and one on Hints Common, near Tamworth, reading, IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. V. COS. DE. CEANG. (weight, 150 lbs.) The specimen delineated above was most probably inscribed to Domitian.

These pigs of lead are of historical value. The Britons, we are informed, well understood the art of extracting tin and lead from their ores; and these metals were among the chief articles of British commerce, which tempted the Romans to brave unknown seas and inhospitable shores, to carry roads over almost impassable morasses, walls over mountains, and at a frightful sacrifice of human life and liberty, for four hundred years, to hold possession of Britain divided from the world. In the time of Pliny, lead mines were worked in Spain and in Gaul; but the exportation of the metal from Britain, he states, was so plentiful, that it became necessary to restrict its supply from that province by legal enactment.¹ The territories of the Ceangi, or Cangi, before referred to, and the Brigantes, included Cheshire and Yorkshire, and in these districts, as well as in the intervening one of Derbyshire, these blocks of lead, stamped *De Ceang.* and *Brig.*, have been found. The earliest on record are two of the time of Claudius.

¹ Nigro plumbo ad fistulas laminasque utimur, laboriosius in Hispania eruto, totasque per Gallias: sed in Britannia summo terræ adeo largo, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat.—*Nat. Hist.* xxxiv, cap. 17.

The one, found at Matlock, and weighing 173 lbs., reads: TI. CL. TR. IVT. BR. EX. ARG. The TR. would rather seem to imply the TR. POT. in the usual array of titles following the name, as in the next inscription, but incompleated by the ignorance or carelessness of the engraver of the mould; and this is somewhat confirmed by the BR., if it be accepted for *Britannicus*, as it was a title never used by Claudius. Another reading has been proposed, which, however, is open to objections; it is:—"Tib. Claudii tributum lutum Britannico ex argento",—*the tribute of Tiberius Claudius paid out of British money*. The other of Claudius, found at Ochichole, Somersetshire, as given by Camden, reads:—TI. CLAUDIVS. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TRIB. P. VIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN.; of the correctness and signification of which there can be no doubt. The *De Britannis* will remind the numismatist of the coins of this emperor struck to commemorate his victories over the Britons.

The block, of which an engraving is here given¹ (I believe for the first time), was found in 1783, on the verge of Broughton brook, near Stockbridge, Hants. It is inscribed



Length at top, 21 inches.

on the top, in letters an inch in length, NERONIS. AVG. EX. KIAN. IIIICOS. BRIT.; on one side, HVLPMCOS; on the other, EX ARGENT and CAPASCAS, with the numerals XXX. This inscription is peculiarly interesting, as referring to the Cangi at an earlier date, the name being spelt as pronounced, *Kiangi*, and just previous to the reverses of the Romans in Britain from the courage and skill of the heroic Boadicea. Nero was fourth time consul the year before; and this pig of lead would seem to have been on its way from the country of the Cangi towards the south, for exportation, composing,

¹ From a drawing exhibited by the late rev. A. B. Hutchins, to the Winchester Congress, from the original in the possession of J. M. Elwes, esq., of Bossington Park.

probably, part of the tribute, the harsh exaction of which was one of the causes of the insurrection. The *Brit.* must be considered as referring to the metal, or the province, and not intended for *Britannicus*, as before observed on the *Br.* in the inscription of Claudius. The lateral marks are not altogether to be satisfactorily explained, except the *ex argent*, which occurs in other instances, and refers to the separation of the silver from the ore.

Other varieties to be noticed are:—1. IMP. CAES. HADRIANI. MEI. LVI? *Derbyshire*;—2. IMP. HADRIANI. AVG, *Bath*;—3. IMP. DVOR. AVG. ANTONINI. ET. VERI. ARMENIACORVM., *Somerset*;—4. L. ARVCONI. VERECVNDI. MEAL. LNVD.? *Matlock*;—5. C. IVL. PROTI. BRIT. LVT. EX. ARG., *Nottinghamshire*. The last two words in the first of these should apparently be read *metallam luitum*, or *lutum*,—washed or purified metal,—the most feasible rendering of the LVT on these blocks, and confirmed by a passage in Pliny,¹ where the word *elutia* is stated to be applied to tin found in the gold mines of Spain and Portugal, as designating its being washed from the vein by water. Two of the figures, 4 and 5, bear the names of private individuals; they were doubtless either procurators or persons appointed to superintend the regulations of the metallurgical department of the provincial revenue. The interpretation, suggested by Pegge, of the last two words in No. 4, *metallarius Lundinensis*, is open to objection.

The site of one of the chief cemeteries of Roman Chester was on the sides of the road running by Edgar's rock, through Netherley and Aldford. Bordering this road at Netherley, have been found, at various times, sepulchral urns, fibulae, lamps, and other remains, which such sites so abundantly afford. Here, about twenty yards distant from the road, was dug up the figure of a lion, sculptured in red sand-stone, a representation of which is given in next page. On the line of this road at Primrose Hill, where the remains of the ancient paving have lately been exhumed, a considerable deposit of sepulchral urns has been recently discovered, some of which are in the possession of Mr. Johnson, of Eccleston. Mr. Ormerod states, that “In 1813, several vases and lamps, and a demi-figure,

¹ Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiv. c. 16.

habited in a sacerdotal costume, were found in Netherlegh, within the city liberties, near the line of the Watling-street, in sinking a cellar at the residence of sir John Cotgreave.



Two feet seven inches in length.

The vases were of red clay, and arranged in cells a little below the surface, each cell containing five or six vases. Some of them contained ashes, and in others, the lamps (which were of white, hard clay) were deposited.”¹ At a time when the country is awakened to a sense of the gross impropriety of continuing to inter within the walls of crowded cities, it may be useful to revert to the ancient wholesome and sensible practice of removing the dead from the abodes of the living, even at a period when some excuse might be urged for intramural burial, on account of the comparatively thin population, and more abundant space. The revolting indelicacy of the pernicious custom, which has been so tenaciously maintained, and is still combated for, only proves how custom, especially when connected with selfish interests, will reconcile nations to a bigoted perseverance in the most irrational and brutish practices, and how averse they are to learn wisdom from the past, and lower the standard of vanity and self-sufficiency.

Having spoken of sepulchral urns, it may be mentioned that Lysons states,² that in 1789, a considerable number of fictile vessels of a domestic character, were found in digging within the castle. The most interesting of these were the Samian, on which so much has been written in our

¹ “History of the County Palatine and City of Chester”, vol. i, p. 295.

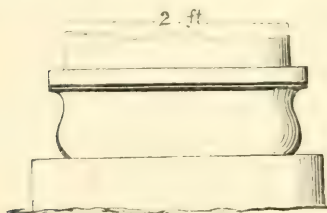
² “Magna Britannia”, vol. ii, Part II, p. 431.

Journal and elsewhere. The names of the potters were:—*TIIVNV*. — *SEV*. . . . — *BELINOIM*. — *ALBINVS*. — *BITVRIN*. — *ATILLVS*. — *VARIVS. F*. — *I + OFFIC*. — *CRESI. M*. — *PVONI. M*. — *E x CV x I. M*. Most of these may be identified in the long list of such stamps found in London.¹ The Gaulish name *Biturix* supports the opinion of the foreign origin of this beautiful and interesting pottery.

It only remains now to record, for the convenience of future reference, recent discoveries, as supplied and verified by a sub-committee of the Chester Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society.

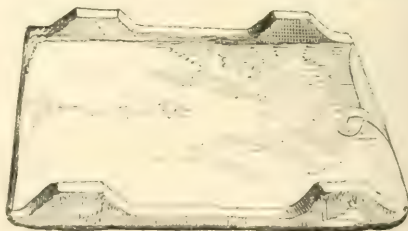
Weaver-street.—In excavating for sewers, was found, at the depth of seven feet, a raised foot-path, edged with curb-stones, and a regular paved road, of marble-stones, set in sand; four feet above this, a layer of charcoal; at ten or eleven feet deep, a quantity of Roman tile.

Commonhall-street.—Up the centre, a row of foundations formed of concrete (broken marble-stones in hard mortar), about nine feet apart, all in a line, and about ten feet deep, presenting the appearance of having supported columns. A large square block of stone, four feet two inches square, and sixteen inches deep, without lewis holes, on a bed of concrete.



A portion of a column of very debased classical form, about two feet in diameter; at the top is a hole, four inches and a half square, and the same deep, and a similar hole at the bottom; the square part seems never to have been smoothly dressed; the workmen said it was fast to the

grouted concrete, at the depth of ten feet; mouldings, broken tiles, and pottery, coins of Pius, Tetricus, etc.; a quantity of animals' bones, a stag's skull, with the horns sawn off, and a wild boar's tusk. In the adjoining street, a moulded block of cornice, eight inches thick, on the under side of which is a rude inscription (see fig. page 224); embedded in a thick wall, at the same place, a pig of lead;² a capital of a pillar. The tiles are of various forms, some overlapping one another; some with



19½ in. by 14½; 1½ thick.

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, p. 150.

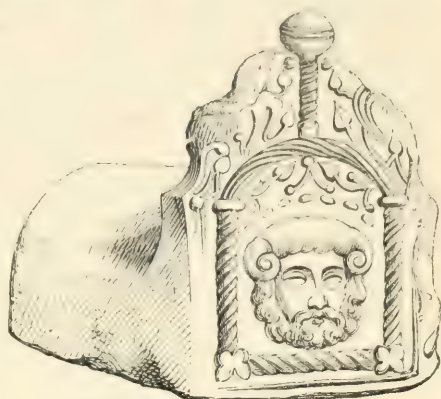
² Presented to the Society by Mr. Baylis, the city surveyor. It should also

be stated, that his worship the mayor believing it was public, and not private property, had also given it to the Society.

a kind of pattern or letters; others with marks of animals' feet. One, perfect, twenty-one inches by thirteen, of singular form. Also, what appears to have been a portion of a gable end.

This is a very elegant variety of the *antefix*, an architectural ornament in terra-cotta, of which various kinds were used to decorate the external parts of edifices, and conceal unsightly junctures in the masonry, or the ends of the ridge-tiles, producing at the same time a very tasteful and finished effect.

These antefixes are shewn on some of the imperial coins, as well as on ancient sculptures and paintings, and many examples are preserved in the continental museums. In this country they are uncommon; and almost the only specimens which can be referred to, are some in the museum of Caerleon, but which are of inferior workmanship to the Chester example.



Width of front, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.; height, $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

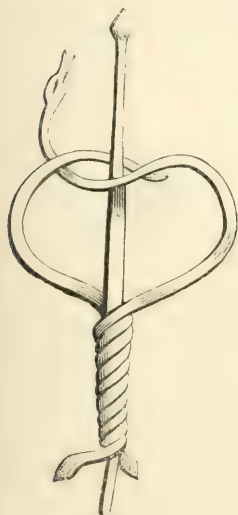


Fig. 1.

The two cuts represent a bronze caduceus of the actual size (fig. 1), in the possession of Mr. Baylis; and a bronze fibula, set with blue enamel (fig. 2), in the possession of Mr. John Lowe; which were exhibited in the temporary museum.

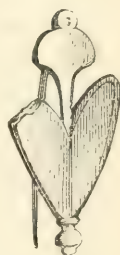


Fig. 2.

In closing these notes, I beg leave to draw the earnest attention of our Chester friends and colleagues to the fact, that most of the monuments referred to are now either lost, or so scattered about the country, that it is

almost hopeless to identify or recover them. For purposes of science, it is important that such monuments be accessible, in order that the fidelity of engravings, on which so much depends, may be tested; and that persons who write on inscriptions may be first assured they have correctly read them; for the difference of a letter may make all the difference between error and truthfulness. It will be perceived, from evidence which peeps out here and there, that in past times Chester afforded rich and plentiful remains of antiquity, now irretrievably lost. This wreck of ancient monuments is not confined to Chester. It arose partly from general ignorance, and partly from that odious and still prevailing propensity, to appropriate antiquities to gratify the childish feeling of retaining possession of things merely as being old, and apart from any scientific application. Objects of ancient art, in the hands of such persons, are exposed to daily vicissitudes, from caprice and whim; or the possessors die, and their heirs sell them to the first bidder; thus they become dissociated for ever from all those facts and circumstances which constituted their real value, and for the future are nothing more than the mutilated and disjointed members broken from the trunk of some great work of art by the silly *virtuoso*, and treasured in his folly as rare and precious relics; or, the disunited tesserae which once formed the picture.¹ It will be the duty of the Chester Architectural, Archæological, and Historic Society, to provide, without further loss of time, a local museum of antiquities, restricted as much as possible to works of ancient art discovered in, or relating to, the city and county. Local museums are of the first importance to the antiquary; at the same time, casts of the more important monuments might be furnished to other

¹ A few years since I had secured, as I thought, a nice fragment of a tessellated pavement, for the Guildhall Museum. A distinguished member of the Corporation, however, to whose judgment such matters are usually referred, when solicited by his colleagues to sanction the proposal, and to inspect the pavement, coolly desired the workmen to bring the pavement to him, as he could not afford time to go to it! They obeyed orders, but the pavement

was, of course, shattered into ten thousand pieces. This gentleman could never understand why the monument was more precious when entire. On another occasion, during excavations at the Royal Exchange, the person in custody of the antiquities found there assured me, that pilfering on the part of the visitors could not be prevented, and that repeatedly vases had been rendered imperfect by the furtive abstraction of fragments.

museums; but on no account should the monuments themselves be dissociated from the place of their parentage, and from close connexion with the facts illustrating their history. On the continent, scientific arrangement of collections of local antiquities gives public museums vast superiority over those of our own country, in which classification and description are seldom attended to, and unsorted works of ancient art of all periods and countries held of inferior value to the commonest objects of natural history; so that English museums too often more resemble hucksters' shops, than repositories of national historical monuments and records, alike adapted for the reference of the antiquary, and as a means of public education.

C. ROACH SMITH.

ON THE COINAGE OF CHESTER.

(COMMUNICATED BY THE PRESIDENT.)

THE earliest evidence of the existence of a mint at Chester, is afforded by the coins of Ethelstan, who reigned from 924 to 940. In the laws of Ethelstan, mints are specially mentioned at nine different towns and cities; and then the words are added, *Elleȝ ƿo þam oðrum byrgum*, 1: i. e., "*Else, at the other 'burhs', 1*". Hence it has been concluded, that there was at this time a mint in every town,—an inference scarcely warranted by the words in question, although it is clear that there were many mints not enumerated. It appears by his coins, that *Totes* and *Elfwine* were moneyers at Chester in the days of Ethelstan. In this reign, the practice of placing the name of the town upon the coins became general. Coins of this mint exist of Edgar, Edward the Martyr, Ethelred II, Cnut, Edward the Confessor, and Harold II. This city would appear to



have risen in importance between the days of Ethelstan and the Norman conquest ; for in Domesday book it is recorded, that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, there were seven moneyers in Chester, who paid seven pounds to the king and the earl, over and above the rent, whenever the money was changed.

It is singular, that although the name of the city is mentioned on the coins of William the Conqueror, no mention of a mint at Chester occurs in Domesday Book.

There are pennies of Henry I, and of Stephen, bearing *LE* on the reverse, which may have been struck in the mint of Chester; but as these letters commence the name of another town (Leicester, for instance), the appropriation is doubtful.

There are coins of Henry II, and Edward I, struck in the mint of Chester.

In the year 1601, sir George Carey was appointed to the office of exchanger between England and Ireland, and was authorized by his patent to establish an exchange here. No other record of this exchange exists. Do the city archives make any mention of it?

During the great civil war, a mint was established in Chester by Charles I. The pieces coined here are distinguished by the mint-mark of three wheatsheaves, the arms of the city.

A mint was in full operation here in the reign of William III. The documents here exhibited are receipts, etc., for clipped silver, brought in to be re-coined, according to the statute 8 and 9 William III, which enacts, that from and after the 10th of January 1697, "no hammered silver coin of the kingdom should be esteemed the lawful coin of the realm, nor be current in any payment, either by weight or otherwise; and that the tender of it, after that time, should not be deemed a sufficient tender in law. And it enacted further, that it should be lawful for any person to carry into his majesty's mints in the Tower of London, or in the cities of Bristol, Exeter, Chester, Norwich, and York, before the 1st of March 1697, any old hammered money to be re-coined; and the respective master of such mint, or his deputy, was authorized and required to receive the same, and to melt it down, and re-coin it into the lawful coins of the kingdom, and to pay it back, so re-

coined, before the 25th of March 1698, to the several importers, in the manner then used in the mint in the Tower of London."

The money thus re-coined at Chester is distinguished by the letter C. under the bust. The whole amount struck in the Chester mint at this period was 101,660 lbs. (weight).

The whole of this re-coinage was completed in 1699, the date found on so much of the money of William and Mary. Seven millions of money were minted; and yet, in 1708, sir Isaac Newton, then master of the mint, states in his report, that *if silver money should become a little scarcer, people would in a little time refuse to make payments in silver without a premium!*

ON THE SEALS OF THE EARLS OF CHESTER.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE seals of the ancient earls of Chester afford us some valuable illustrations of the practice of bearing arms in this country, and a critical examination of them will greatly serve the cause of truth, which, in the science of heraldry, has been sadly sacrificed by those who should have been its strictest and most incorruptible champions. No tale has been too idle,—no fable too preposterous, for the majority of the writers on this important but mis-used subject. Had half the ingenuity and industry been exerted to discover the real origin of armorial insignia, which has been wasted upon inventing stories to account for them, what service might have been rendered to history,—what light thrown upon genealogy and biography! How many documents have now disappeared, or utterly perished, which were accessible to Upton, Legh, Morgan, Ferne, Holme, and others, who have used them but to mystify and perplex their readers? Is it too late to unravel the

skein they have so wantonly tangled,—to extract the valuable grains, which it is but justice to admit they have preserved to us, from the bushels of chaff in which they are so provokingly smothered? Let us hope not. At any rate, it is the bounden duty of the archaeologist to persevere in the task.

Webb, in *King's Vale Royal*, modestly says, when speaking of the earls of Chester, “Loth am I to omit the coats of these noble earls, being a thing so pertinent to the understanding of these antiquities, that it would much adorn the treatise, and give light to many inferences that gentlemen have reason to observe in deriving their own coats from some of these: but I profess my ignorance in this noble skill, and I am so jealous of my weakness, that I dare not take upon me the blazons; but if I only set down the coats as I find them, and may be excused any other ventures upon the terms of art requisite in that, I hope I may be well supplied with such judicious readers as can make use, by their own skill and knowledge, of whatever I leave defective in that behalf.” Curiously enough, Smith, who was Rouge Dragon Poursuivant, in his treatise in the same work, never alludes to the coats at all.

The catalogues of the earls of Chester, after the conquest, usually commence with Hugh, son of Richard of Avranché, and Margaret his wife, half-sister to the Conqueror; but the earldom was first given by William to Gherbod, the Fleming, who, returning to Flanders to recover his inheritance, was detained prisoner there, A.D. 1070, in which year, according to Ordericus Vitalis, the county was transferred to Hugh of Avranché, son of Richard, surnamed Goz, and who married Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh, comte de Clermont en Beauvoisis. To this Hugh, by some called Lupus, or le Loup, who died in 1103, the heralds have assigned a coat of arms, which they blazon, *azure*, a wolf's head, erased, *argent*, or, as the magniloquent Ferne has it, “Jupiter, a wolf's head, erased, Luna.” Webb says, “whether he was so called because he bare the wolf's head in the coat armour, or that because his name was so he bare that coat, is a matter fitter for the learned heralds than me, either to discourse upon or determine”. The learned heralds who so obligingly furnished the coat, have, however, most unfortunately forgotten to furnish us with

their authority; but in the same liberal spirit they have also provided a coat for the next earl of Chester,—Richard, the son and heir of Hugh, who, with his countess, Maude, shared the fate of prince Henry, son of king Henry I,—perishing at sea on their return from Normandy, A.D. 1119. To this earl Richard, the learned heralds have accorded for arms, the wolf's head *argent*, of his father, but changed the field to *gules*; crussily, *or*. Now it seems to me, that poor Gherbod, the first earl, has been exceedingly ill-treated, for whilst they were about it, the heralds might just as well have given him something by way of a coat. I will venture to say they might have found equally good authority for the grant of it; and if not,—why spare their invention, to which even our first parents are indebted for their armorial bearings? Surely the herald, who could give a coat to Adam, before Adam made a petticoat for himself, need not have boggled at cutting one out “according to his cloth” for the Flemish earl of Chester. Seriously, however, it is just probable, that Hugh le Loup might have had his shield ornamented with a wolf's head, or his seal might have been an antique gem with the grimly nurse of Romulus engraven on it. The long kite-shaped shields of the Norman invaders in the Bayeux tapestry, display a variety of ill-drawn monsters, serpents, wyverns, dragons, and “chimeras dire”, and the secretum or counter-seal of many a baron or knight would have graced the most classical collection. For instance, the counter-seal of Ranulf the second, earl of Chester, apparently contained a gem on which was engraved two naked combatants, or gladiators (vide cut 1). The heralds might as well call these figures (which you will perceive have not a coat between them) a coat of arms, as the wolf's head, if he had one, of earl Hugh the Fat, as he was also called on account of his corpulency. The counter-seals of Hugh Cyvelioc, earl of Chester, and of Richard Fitz-Eustace, constable of Chester, A.D. 1157, present us with similar examples.

The most laborious research,—the most patient investigation, have failed as yet in producing an authority for a truly called heraldic bearing in England in the time of the Conqueror, or previous to the second crusade in 1147; but devices of rude execution and capricious assumption, were undoubtedly in use amongst the northmen, as we find,

not only by the shields in the Bayeux tapestry, but by the description of the Conquest by the Anglo-Norman poet Wace, who distinctly tells us that the fashion was peculiar to the Normans. He says they "had shields on their necks and lances in their hands, and all had made or adopted cognizances that one Norman might know another by, and that none others bore, so that no Norman might perish by the hand of another, nor one Frenchman kill another":—

"Escuz as cols, as mains lors lances
E tuit ovent fet cognoissances¹
Ki Normant altre conust
Et ke l'autre portuer n'eust
Ke Normant altre ne perist
Ne Francois altre n'oeist."

—*Roman de Rou*, 12815-12820.

I am not aware that this passage in the *Roman de Rou* has ever been quoted, and it certainly is one of great importance to the heraldic antiquary, as it proves two great facts. Firstly, that such personal distinctions were not known to the Saxons; and secondly, that even at the time that Wace wrote, in the reign of Henry II, heraldry, properly so called, was not in existence, or the adoption of such personal devices would not have been noticed by him, without some allusion to the regulated practice of which no doubt they were the origin. The bearing of a wolf's head, therefore, by a Norman knight is not an improbability; but in the absence of all cotemporary authority to avouch the fact, I must consider it as the invention of a much later period, suggested by the name of *Lupus*, which name (if indeed he ever bore such) might have been given him for his gluttony, a vice to which, Ordericus Vitalis tells us, he was greatly addicted. The coat assigned to his son Richard has even less probability in its favour, as he never appears to have been so nick-named, and I therefore place it in the same category. A note out of the *Lieger-book* of the abbey of Abingdon, amongst Randal Holme's collections in the Harleian library, No. 1988, states, "that previously to his being knighted, this Richard used the seal of his mother, Ermentrude de Clermont, but

¹ The MS. of Duschene reads— "cognoissances" occurs in (probably) "convenances"—signes de convention; a later copy.

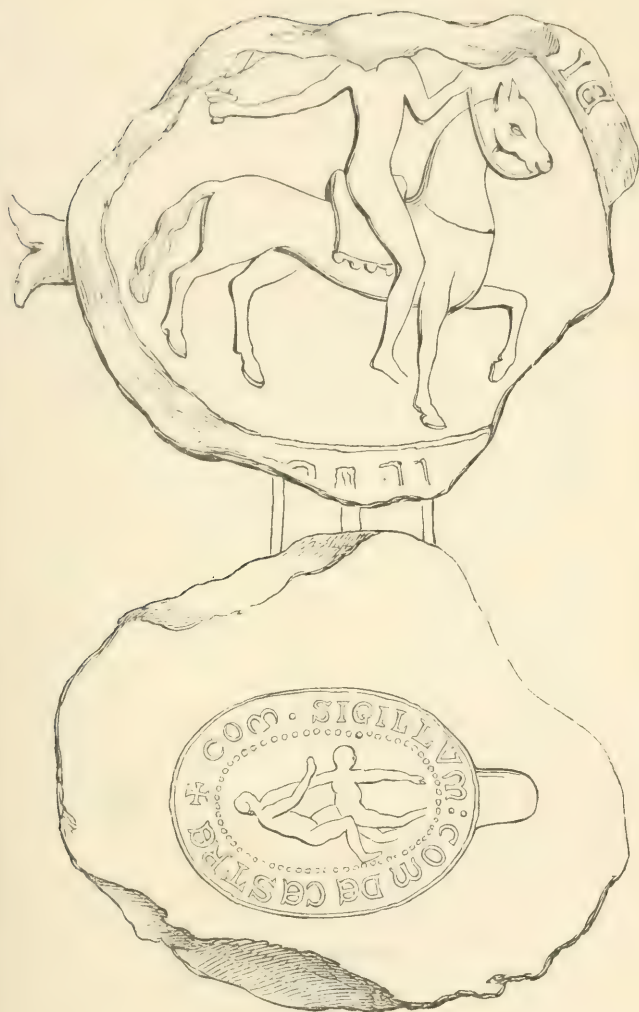
records no figure or device on that or on his own seal when he had one."

To the son of Hugh Lupus succeeded the nephew, Ranulf de Bricasard or Briquesard, son of Maude, the sister of Hugh, by Ranulf or Ralph Bohun, surnamed le Meschin, earl of Carlisle, or as some say Cumberland. This Ranulf, first earl of Chester of that name, and of the great house of Bohun, married Lucy, daughter of Algar, the Saxon earl of Leicester, and widow of Roger de Romare. He died in 1129, and was buried at Chester. To him the heralds have given, but upon no quoted authority, "*Or*, a lion rampant, *gules*." The earliest list of the earls of Chester I have yet met with, having reference to their armorial bearings, is one in the Harleian library, entitled "Succession and arms of the earls of Chester, extracted from a manuscript written in the time of Henry VI, in the possession of Nicolas Brown de la Mershe, in the county of Derby." It forms part of the Holme collection before-named, and as it begins with the name of the Saxon earl Leofric, who, it states, bore "*Sable*, an eagle displayed, *or*", the confidence we may place in it is of the very smallest.

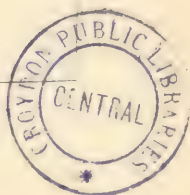
Ferne, in his *Lacy's Nobility*, calls this Ranulf's father, John Bohun, and gives him for arms, "Topaz, three bars, ruby", or, as we should now blazon it,—*or*, three bars, *gules*, or, barry of six pieces, *or* and *gules*; but still without quoting his authority. He also, to use Mr. Ormerod's expression, "foists in" Margaret, instead of Maude, as the mother of Ranulf de Bricasard, as Milles and Brooke have done, without accounting for it. This Ranulf, earl of Chester, surnamed de Briquesard, from the place in Normandy where he was born, is also styled le Meschin, signifying the lesser or the younger, as his father was; but it is often written, "*de Mecænis*", as if it were the name of some place: a mistake into which Ferne has fallen, with others. To this Ranulf succeeded his eldest son, the second Ranulf, earl of Chester, surnamed Gernons, de Gernon and de Gernoniis (Ferne corrupts it into Germoyse), an appellation causing another controversy,—some writers insisting that we should read Vernon instead of Gernon, the letters G and V being commutable in Welsh, and that he was born in the castle of Vernon, instead of that of Gernon, in Normandy; others, that the surname had no relation to

the place of his birth, but was, as well as the Algernon of the Percy family, a Norman sobriquet, signifying "with the whiskers". If this latter suggestion or rather assertion be founded on fact, it is rather remarkable, that we do not find the epithet, as in similar cases, *translated* into Latin, and not simply Latinized "De Gernoniis". Although the followers of the Conqueror were shaven and shorn like monks, beards and whiskers, in the reign of Henry I, were so general and so enormous, that they were preached against by the clergy, and Ordericus Vitalis compares the men of his day "to filthy goats". But our business is with his arms, and not with his moustaches; and we have now before us, for the first time, the seal of an earl of Chester. The great seal of Ranulf the second was found under the floor of the great aisle of St. Edmondsbury, Suffolk, in 1774. It has been engraved and described in the *Archæologia*, and also in Ormerod's *Cheshire*.¹ The earl's illegitimate cousin, Robert, was abbot of St. Edmondsbury, and it has been supposed, with great probability, that the seal was hidden or lost there during the earl's contest with king Stephen. Unfortunately it affords us, on the precise subject of our inquiry, no more than negative evidence. The earl is represented on horseback, with a drawn sword erect in his right hand,—that sword, by which the Norman earls of Chester held their county "as freely as the king did England by his crown". No shield of arms is visible,—no badge,—no heraldic cognizance of any description. The counter-seal, a drawing of which has been made by Holme, exhibiting the two combatants before alluded to; but the heralds, nothing daunted, have blazoned a coat for the second Ranulf, differing in tincture and metal from that ascribed to his father, but preserving the same figure, viz., *gules*, a lion rampant, *argent*. His death, however, occurred in 1155; and as we have now arrived at a period when armorial bearings begin to appear, there is more reason to give credence to this assertion, as Ranulf de Gernon married Maude, daughter of Robert, earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of king Henry I; and supposing him to be the first earl of Chester who assumed regular heraldic bearings, a lion would be the most probable

¹ "Archæologia", vol. iv; and Ormerod's "Cheshire", vol. i, page 26.



Seal of Ranulf the Second, surnamed Gernon (from a drawing by Randal Holme).



one, as in nearly all the instances of a match with a legitimate or illegitimate descendant of the Norman blood-royal, the husband has even abandoned his paternal coat for an imitation of his sovereign's, as I have shown in my paper on early armorial bearings, read at Cheltenham during the Gloucester Congress. Still, the assignment of a lion rampant to Ranulf de Gernon, rests upon no positive evidence. The seal of his son, Hugh the second, surnamed Cyvelioc, from the place of his birth, the comote or province of that name in Montgomeryshire, is also engraved in Mr. Ormerod's splendid work, from a very fine impression in green wax with silken strings of the same colour, formerly in the possession of the late Mr. Thomas Sharp, of Coventry. It exhibits a knight on horseback, fully armed; on his kite-shaped shield, the engraver has given what we might fancy a faint indication of some animal, rampant. The counter-seal, however, has only an antique head, "probably", says Mr. Ormerod, "a gem found at Chester, round which are two inscriptions, one in monkish Latin, and the other in Norman-French"; and in a collection of drawings and engravings of ancient seals, in J. C. Brooke's *Aspilogia*, vol. i, in the College of Arms, London, is the representation of another seal of this Hugh, on which the figure of the earl is portrayed with a shield, indicating the blazon termed gironée by heralds, but which has generally proved, upon examination, to be merely the traces of the escarbuncle, an ornamental clamp of the shield, which afterwards became a regular charge. In this instance, also, it seems with a border. Sir Peter Leycester, who saw a seal of Hugh the second, when it was in a much better state of preservation, makes no mention whatever of a lion or any other heraldic bearing. He simply says, "A very fair seal, with the impression of the earl on horseback, and on the back part of the seal, two lesser impressions, of a man holding or setting something on a form or stool, inscribed about 'Contra sigillum comitis Cestriæ'." A fragment of this seal exists in the British Museum, and has been engraved in Nichol's *Leicestershire*; but the more important portions are unfortunately destroyed.

Hugh de Cyvelioc married Bertrade, daughter of Simon second earl of Montfort. Now supposing this earl of Chester, and not his father, to have been the first bearer

of coat armour, a lion might indicate either his maternal descent from king Henry I, or, his marriage with a De Montfort, whose arms, about this period, are known to

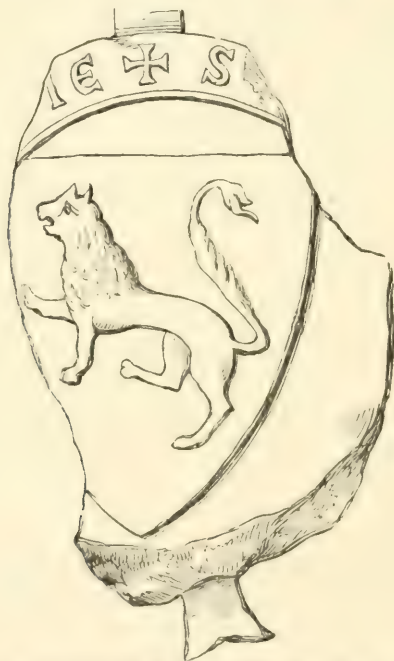


Seal of Hugh Cyveliok (from J. C. Brooke, College of Arms).

have been “a lion rampant, queue fourchée or nouée”, as displayed on the counter-seal of Simon, brother of this Bertrade, and father of the famous earl of Leicester of that family, formerly in the collection of M. de Clarambault. Brooke, and other heralds, however, have thought proper to blazon the arms of Hugh de Cyveliok, *azure*, six garbs or wheatsheaves, *or*, as usual without citing the least authority for so doing.

The next step we take in this inquiry lands us on surer ground. The seals of Ranulf the third, surnamed Blundevil or Blondeville, from the place of his birth, Album Monasterium, exhibits for the first time the well-known garbs or wheatsheaves identified with the city of Chester, and observable in so many escutcheons of the nobility and gentry of the county palatine. There are three seals extant of Ranulf de Blondeville. The first presents us on each side a figure of the earl on horseback, in one

instance displaying only the inner portion of his shield, but in the other we discern something like a cross patonceé, if, indeed, it be not a similar ornament or charge to that upon the shield of his father, Hugh, in the copy in the College of Arms before mentioned. The gonfalon of the lance, or standard, if it be one, borne by this figure, is three-tailed, and displays an ornament what heralds would term *fretty*. The second seal exhibits a cross on the shield of the earl, and the third seal, on a heart-shaped shield, an animal, which some have called a wolf, and others a lion, rampant: which it is really intended to represent, would be a puzzling question for the Zoological Society; but heraldic painters are not particular, and I have seen a lion as sadly libelled by them before now. There is, however, a drawing of this seal in Holme's col-



From a drawing by Randal Holme.—Harleian MS.

lection, wherein the lion is much more evident. This seal is called the second Ranulf's, but I deem this to be a mistake of the industrious antiquary.

On a fourth seal, engraved in Vincent's *Discoverie* (said

to have been appended to the deed whereby, as earl of Lincoln, he gives the county of Lincoln to his sister, Hawise de Quincy), we find three garbs, not only on the shield of the earl's equestrian effigy, but on the counter-seal, displayed two and one; and Vincent tells us it is given "as neare as art can"; but in Brooke's collection of seals already mentioned, there is a copy of this seal that appears to me to be much nearer the original, and it has some interesting variations. On the shield is one large garb only; on the caparison of the horse two garbs are visible; while above them, round the neck of the horse, is a coronet.

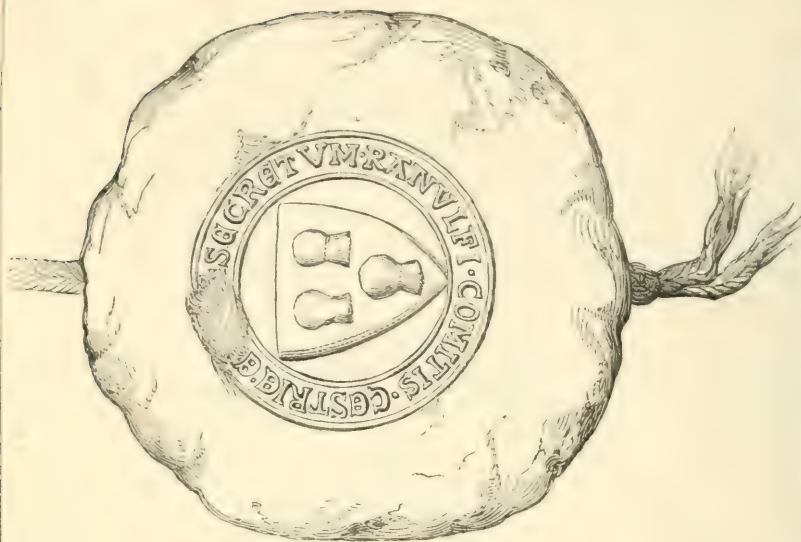


Seal of Ranulf de Blondville (J. C. Brooke, College of Arms).

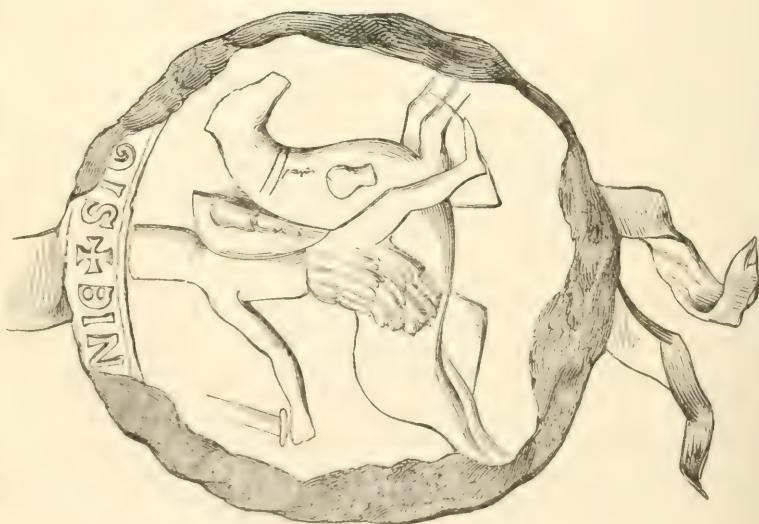
Here is a drawing from a tolerably perfect original seal of this Hugh, appended to a charter in the British Museum, which retains indications of forms confirming the authenticity of Brooke's copy. The seal engraved in Nichol's *Leicestershire*, is apparently from another copy, in the Cotton MS. Julius C. 7. The reverse, or counter-seal, is, however, alike in every instance: three garbs on a beaten shield, surrounded by the inscription, "Secretum Ranulfi, Comitis Cæstrie et Lincolnie."

It is in evidence, therefore, that Ranulf de Blondville,





Seal of Ramulf de Blundeville (Cotton Charter, xxiv, 16).



Seal of Ramulf de Blundeville (Cotton Charter, 52, A, 16).

bore two, if not three, separate and different coats, as many of our great barons did before the practice of impaling, dimidiating, quartering, and other modes of marshalling arms were introduced, and the question is, whence did he derive them? Had his father borne them previously, or were the cross, the lion, and the garbs, first assumed by him? Let us hear one story concerning them. Ranulf the first, surnamed de Briquesard and le Meschin, is said, by some writers, to have so highly esteemed the honour of rising to the dignity of earl of Chester, that he relinquished the coat-armour of his father, earl of Cumberland, or Carlisle, and assumed the wheatsheaves, "by occasion of which exchange of his coat armour", says Mr. Webb, "some writers have erroneously collected, as may be found in Ralph Hollingshead his last volume, W. R., that he exchanged the earldom of Cumberland for this; but the error is learnedly discovered in that part of *Lacy's Nobility*, by Sir John Ferne formerly mentioned, and it seems that the choice of those arms was much occasioned by his own natural disposition, which was rather to peace and civil government than to warlike affairs and great enterprizes"; and then he quotes Ferne, who tells us, that "the coat, as well for the colour of the field, as likewise for the matter of the charge, is very honourable and significant". First, we are to perceive, that the field is blue, which colour representeth the air, amongst the elements that of all the rest, is the greatest favourer of life, as the only nurse and maintainer of vital spirits in any living creature,—that "the planet whereunto this colour is referred, is Jupiter, a planet most amiable, favourable, and of a tractable and gentle influence, repressing the malicious frowardness of Saturn". "That the wheatsheaves are properly given in gold, because, as the colour representeth gold, the chiefest of all metals, so the wheat containeth that seed which of all others is of most account, both for the necessity of use and the delicacy of taste, and also in arms, do signify abundance, and notes the giver of peace and breeder of plenty and fullness of all good things, so that earl Randulph signified to all men by his coat armour, his nature inclining to peace, by which his country might enjoy plenty, hating war and discord, as the causes of vastity and penury, which coat hath ever since been

termed the coat of Chester, as well for the worthiness of the place as for the honour of the bearer", etc.

Were it not my object to expose the absurdity of such lucubrations, I should really apologize to you for quoting such a passage at any length. If, instead of all this rhodomontade, sir John Ferne had been kind enough to state to whom he was indebted for the information that the garbs were first assumed by Ranulf le Meschin, he would have materially lessened our labour. As to the symbolical nature of blue and gold, I am perfectly convinced, that in the original assumption of arms, no such fancies existed. Tinctures and metals were not selected to blazon the virtues or qualifications of the bearer, for in that case how could they be made hereditary?—they were contrasted for the purpose of distinctness, as well as of distinction, as is obvious from the rule forbidding colour to be placed on colour,—or metal on metal, whilst the figure of the charge was equally guiltless of such mystical significations; if assumed, it indicated the name, and not the disposition of the individual; if conceded, it displayed the origin of the honour,—the alliance by marriage, or the tenure by grant of the donor. When the whole achievement of a feudal superior was granted, a difference was made in the colour or metal, or a border was added to distinguish it from the original. The same practice was followed by junior branches of a family, and the bearings of two families were sometimes mixed, as I may say, in one shield, previous to the introduction of the later modes of impaling, quartering, or otherwise marshalling them. Now, as to the rest of Ferne's story, before we can believe that Ranulf le Meschin discarded the arms of his father, it is necessary to prove that his father had any to discard. Ferne says he bore, "*Or, three bars, gules*"; Brooke gives him a lion rampant. "Who shall decide, when *heralds* disagree?" It is very unlikely, that in the year 1119, the noble earl of Carlisle bore either one or the other. Ultimately, it is true, the de Bohuns bore six lions in their arms, but whence derived is another question, which we cannot afford time for at present. The fact before us is, that whether the figure of some animal may, or may not be, traced upon the shield of Hugh de Cyvelioc, earl of Chester, from 1155 to 1181, this is the exact period at which

undoubted armorial bearings became visible throughout Europe, and I have already shown two reasons for the display of a lion by earl Hugh, the son of Maude of Gloucester, and the husband of Bertrade de Montfort. We next find Ranulf de Blondewille displaying an animal upon one seal, whilst the shield of the equestrian figure of the earl on two other seals is simply quartered or charged with a cross or escarbuncle. If a cross, I take it to be not an armorial bearing, but the holy sign assumed by him on his departure for the crusade in 1218, from whence he returned in 1220.

Upon what I consider to be the next seal of this earl, in point of date, the garbs appear, and not restricted as to number: the early mode of bearing any charge, as can be proved by a crowd of examples: and in the counter-seal, we perceive the wheatsheaves or garbs reduced to three and arranged in the manner in which they have ever since been represented. Sir Peter Leycester also mentions the drawing of another seal, a small one, in a paper-book belonging to sir T. Delves, of Doddington, near Chester, certified as copied from the original affixed to a very late instrument by this earl, which had also the impression of three garbs. Now admitting the animal we have here represented to be a lion, as the early heralds have evidently considered it, and as the descent of Ranulf de Blondewille would seem to justify; or supposing it to be any other quadruped you please, it is tolerably evident that the bearing is that of his family, whilst that of the garb represents his earldom, or, as it is called to this day, the coat of Chester. The fret on the standard may be merely an ornament, as we see it is repeated on the saddle-cloths of the horses on the seals of both Hugh de Kevilioc and Ranulf de Blondewille; but it also may indicate some honour or lordship, as we see in the seals and effigies of his kinsmen and contemporaries, Aumari and Simon de Montfort, who bear on their shields the arms of their family (a lion rampant), and on their banners, party per pale indented, *argent* and *gules*¹. At all events, in this decoration, one of the earliest and most general in all countries, we

¹ Montfaucon, Monarch. Franc., plate LXXXVIII. figs. 1. 2. 3.

perceive the origin of the heraldic charges termed *frettée*, *masculée*, *lozengée*,¹ etc.

On the death of Ranulf de Blondeville, without issue, in 1232, John, surnamed le Scot, earl of Huntingdon and Cambridge, son of David, earl of Angus and Huntingdon, and nephew of William, king of Scotland, became earl of Chester in right of his mother Maude, sister and coheir of the deceased earl; and here we have another coat added to the catalogue, the arms of John being blazoned by most heralds as *or*, three piles, *gules*.² Randal Holme has left us a drawing, exceedingly rude, of a seal of this earl, which exhibits, both on the shield of the equestrian figure, as well as on that of the counter-seal, three piles, the colours of course not indicated. We have no reason to doubt the genuineness of the seal he copied, and these arms are seen upon the seal of earl John's father, David (engraved in Anderson's *Diplom. Scot.*), borne probably, as earl of Angus, for his family coat was the royal one of Scotland; and that of the earl of Huntingdon, in a roll of arms of the reign of Henry III, as nearly as possible of this date, is blazoned "*palee, d'or, et de gueles, ung bend, noir*":—*paly, or and gules*, a bend, *black or sable*, whilst the earl of Chester, in the same roll, is expressly declared to bear, "*azure, à trois garbes d'or*", a tolerable proof that, as, at this period, the earldoms of Huntingdon and Chester were held by the same individual, the coats were those of dominion, and not of family.

Since this paper was read, I have been favoured, through the kindness of W. Langton, esq. of Manchester, with a cast from a seal of John le Scot, in his possession. It authenticates the drawing of Holme; and I have great pleasure in being thus made the medium of adding to the few engravings of any authority illustrative of this subject.

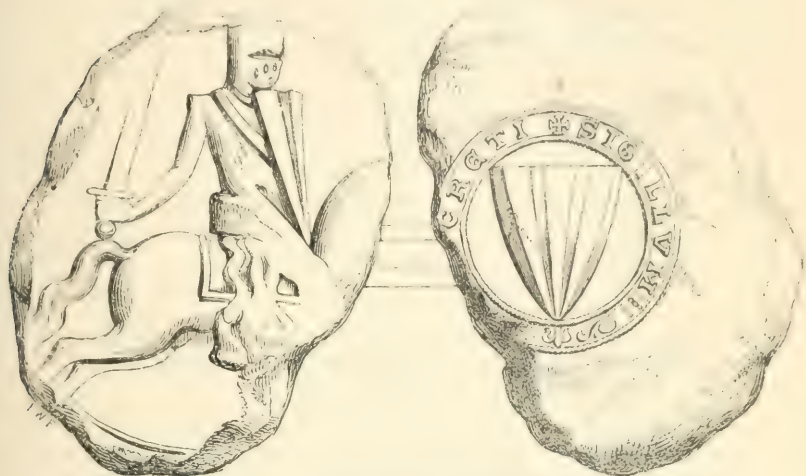
On the death of John le Scot, the earldom of Chester was seized by king Henry III, and given by him, first to his son, Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster,—and

¹ It may have reference to the name Meschin, borne by so many of this family; and the arms of William Meschin de Romare are indeed represented *escutée or gules*, 7 mascles, 3, 3, and 1, between ten cross crosslets, *or*, a coat

evidently made up from the decoration or diapering of a very early shield or standard.

² His cousin Devergillia de Balliol displays upon her seal an escutcheon with only two piles in point.

secondly to Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, after whose defeat and death it came to Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward I, and has ever since that period been attached to the crown of England. With the arms of John



Seal of John le Scot, earl of Chester (in the possession of W. Langton, esq.).

le Scot, therefore, our present inquiry terminates ; and I have but to recall your attention to the few facts I have endeavoured to collect upon this subject. First,—the utter absence of any credible authority for the arms of Hugh Lupus, Richard Fitz-Hugh, Ranulf de Bricasard, or Ranulf de Gernon. Secondly,—the first indications of armorial insignia on the seals of Hugh de Cyveliok. And thirdly,—the earliest display of garbs as the arms of Chester on those of Ranulf de Blondville. Whence they were derived, or why they were assumed, is still an object of great interest and inquiry. If the early heralds invented the bearing of a wolf's head for Lupus, the same spirit might have suggested the gerb or garb as a reminiscence of *Gherbod*, the Fleming, to whom the city was first given by the Conqueror. There is no end to conjectures of this description, as the least jingle perceptible between the name of a family or an estate and an object, animate or inanimate, was sufficient for the "shocking bad" punsters of that day, against whom Doctor Johnson would have hermetically sealed his pockets, and who ransacked not only every

language, dead or living, but every dialect, every provincial patois for names of things which might in any way typify the names of persons. We have only begun to perceive this fact,—it is a clue. I am convinced, to the deepest mysteries of heraldic origin; and we have yet to be astonished at the extent to which it was carried by the first assumers or granters of armorial bearings.

ON ANCIENT CUSTOMS OF CHESHIRE.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, ESQ.

THE remains of ancient customs observed in the county of Chester are peculiarly interesting, partaking as they do of more of the social and domestic character of the inhabitants than is observed in many other counties. Lucian says of the inhabitants of this county, “that their manners seem to be in the main of the best sort, according to the general idea of manners. They are sociable in their entertainments, cheerful at their meals, liberal in their hospitality, hasty, but soon brought to temper, impatient of dependance and bondage, kind to the distressed, compassionate to the poor, fond of their relations, sparing of labour, free from resentment, not given to excess in eating, undesigning, *fond of borrowing other people’s property*, abounding in woods and pastures, rich in meat and cattle”; and one is naturally led to expect from this long catalogue of good qualities, and from the observation of Drayton, that “*they of all England do to ancient customs most cleave*”, that many home and fireside plays and mysteries still obtain in the county, and that the observance of them is kept up with strict fidelity.

On All Souls’ eve, both children and grown-up people go from door to door a-souling, *i. e.*, begging for soul cakes, or anything else in fact that they can get. In some dis-

tricts they perform a kind of play as well, but in all instances the following, or a similar song, is sung:—

“ You gentlemen of England, pray you now draw near
To these few lines, and you soon shall hear
Sweet melody of music all on this evening clear,
For we are come a souling for apples and strong beer.

Step down into your cellar, and see what you can find,
If your barrels are not empty, we hope you will prove kind ;
We hope you will prove kind with your apples and strong beer,
We'll come no more a souling until another year.

Cold winter it is coming on, dark, dirty, wet, and cold,
To try your good nature, this night we do make bold ;
This night we do make bold with your apples and strong beer,
And we'll come no more a souling until another year.

All the houses that we've been at we've had both meat and drink,
So now we're dry with travelling, we hope you'll on us think :
We hope you'll on us think with your apples and strong beer,
For we'll come no more a souling until another year.

God bless the master of this house, and the mistress also,
And all the little children that round the table go ;
Likewise your men and maidens, your cattle and your store,
And all that lies within your gates we wish you ten times more :
We wish you ten times more with your apples and strong beer,
And we'll come no more a souling until another year.”

It will be seen from this, that special stress is laid on the strong beer. From All Souls' day to Christmas day, *Old Hob* is carried about; this consists of a horse's head enveloped in a sheet, taken from door to door, accompanied by the singing of doggrel begging rhymes. On St. Thomas's day the poor people go from farm to farm a “Thomasin”, and generally carry with them a bag and a can, in which meal, flour, or corn, and milk are put. Begging on this day is universal in this and the neighbouring counties; whether from the fact of its being the shortest day, the people think that they are shortest of food or not, I cannot say, but a “Thomasin” is sure to be asked for.

At Easter, pasch eggs are begged at the farm-houses; the children sing a short song, asking for—

“ Eggs, bacon, apples, or cheese,
Bread or corn, if you please,
Or any good thing that will make us merry ”

These eggs are in some parts of the county boiled in vinegar, and otherwise ornamented, and hung up in the houses until another year. In some cottages as many as a score of pasch eggs may be seen hanging. At this same season, Easter, the old custom of lifting is still observed in this locality. On the Monday the men lift the women in chairs, beautifully ornamented with flowers, and decked with ribands; and, on the following day, the women return the compliment, by lifting the men in like manner.—(See Dr. Ormerod's *History*.)

On May-day, May-poles are still erected, and still danced round in some villages with as much avidity as ever, and on this day birch branches are placed over the doors of the houses of their sweethearts by the young men of the villages.

At Knutsford and the neighbourhood, a custom obtained until lately, of strewing the streets in front of a house where a wedding was held, with brown sand, over which various devices and mottoes were figured in white sand. This custom had a most singular and beautiful effect, and was used by persons of all classes on joyful occasions. At the jubilee of George III, the town streets were all sanded.

Football and prison-bars are ancient games of the county, the former having, it is said, been once played with the bleeding head of a monk of Vale Royal, for a ball.

At the salt-pits, or brines, of Northwich, etc., a very pretty custom has been observed, that of dressing the wells or brines, as they are technically called, with flowers and ribands, somewhat in the same manner as the well-dressing at Tissington, in the adjoining county of Derby. Bands of music attended, and after some time was occupied in dancing round the well, a hymn of thanks for the "blessing of the brine" was sung.

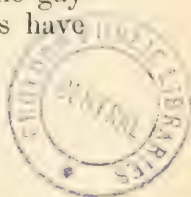
A curious custom still prevails in some districts on the opening of a marl-pit. When a pit is to be opened, the "marlers", or labourers, elect one of their number to be "lord of the pit"; he has the controul of whatever money may be given to them; and on receiving any, the men are summoned together by their lord, and one of them stepping aside, cries, "Oyez, oyez, oyez, Mr. * * * has been here to-day, and given my lord and all his men part of £1000; I hope another will come and give us much more, and we

will return him thanks therefore, with shouts of largess, largess!" The men then join arm in arm, forming a ring, and bow four times toward the centre of it, shouting every time; the fourth shout, longer and louder than the others, dies away gradually. The ceremony is repeated in proportion to the amount received.

At Congleton, the good burgesses appear to have had a remarkable predilection for bear-baiting. In the reign of James I, their menagerie contained at least one bear, and a bear-ward was appointed by the corporation for its custody. And it is said, that the bear having died, the corporation gave orders to sell their Bible in 1601, in order to purchase another, which was done; and the town no longer was without a bear. How they replaced the Bible is not told.

Many other interesting customs are extant in this county, and I trust that these few remarks will call the attention of the residents to the subject, and that we shall receive further notices of the existence of remains of the kind from time to time.

The customs of the various counties of our kingdom vary very considerably from each other, and although many of them may be traced to one common origin, the modes of their observance are so widely different in various localities, that it is but by collection and comparison that any really valuable light can be thrown upon history by their means. Much has been done by antiquaries, and by none more zealously than by our associate, Mr. Halliwell, in collecting and classifying these interesting remains of the literature, superstitions, and manners, of the middle ages; but much yet remains to be done. Every county still possesses numberless little customs which appear as every-day matters with the inhabitant, and are, therefore, unheeded by him, but which would to the archaeologist be valuable in assisting to lead him back to the domestic firesides, the glorious pageants, the ordeals, the mummeries, the mysteries, the tournaments, the minstrels, troubadours, and merelles, and the revels, feasts, and wassails of our forefathers, and in bringing before him, in all their glowing colours, the gay pictures of mirth with which our medieval writers have already made him so familiar.



ON CERTAIN CHURCH BRASSES IN CHESHIRE AND LANCASHIRE.

BY J. G. WALLER, ESQ.

ALTHOUGH in this part of England monumental brasses are much less numerous than in those counties on the eastern coast, yet amongst them are at least three of a very interesting character, if not even unique examples. Two of these, now under consideration, are monuments to members of the same family, well known in the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, where its several branches have resided for many centuries.

The first monument to be noticed, being the earlier in date, is that of Roger Legh and wife, in Riverschapel, St. Michael's, Macclesfield. This brass is much mutilated, the figure of the lady being altogether gone, and is very coarse and rude in execution. It consists of the kneeling figures of a gentleman and six children, in the long gowns then worn by civilians; an inscription beneath, in Latin, states that Roger Legh deceased 4th November 1506; and Elizabeth, his wife, 5th October 1489; a label from the mouth of the principal figure has on it, "*a damnatione perpetua libera nos Domine*"; one corresponding from the female figure, which is preserved in a drawing, Harl. MSS. 2151, British Museum, ran thus:—"in die judicii libera nos Domine".

But the most interesting feature, the only one which renders this monument of any value, is the curious representation which appears above the heads of the figures. Here we have exhibited an altar on which is a chalice and missal; before it kneels a figure in the triple crown, a nimbus around the head, and vested in the priestly habits worn at the celebration of the mass. Behind the altar is the figure of the Saviour arising out of a sepulchre, the hands uplifted as displaying the wounds of his passion.

This is a representation very common in missals, and well known to ecclesiastical art, but not found, except in the present instance, on monumental brasses. The subject has reference to a passage in the life of St. Gregory the

Great, which is given in old missals on St. Gregory's day, and is often illustrated both in MSS. and in early printed copies.

It is called St. Gregory's Mass, or St. Gregory's *Pity*, and is an illustration of one of those numerous legendary stories of miracles performed in confirmation of the doctrine of transubstantiation. It is thus given in the quaint English translation of the Golden Legend:—

“It happed that a wydowe wonte to brynge every sonday hoostes to syng masse wyth, shold on a tyme be houseled and comuned. And when Saint Gregory shold give to her y^e holy sacrament in saying, Corpus Domini nostri, etc., that is to say, the body of oure Lorde Jhesu Cryst kepe you to everlastyng lyf, anon thys woman began to smyle tofore Saint Gregorye, and anon he wythdrew his honde, and remysed the sacrament upon thaulter. And he demanded her tofore the people why she smyled, and she said because y^e brede y^t I have made with my proper hondes thou namest y^e body of oure Lorde Jhesu Cryst. Anon Saint Gregory put himself to prayer wyth the people, for to pray to God that herupon he wolde shew his grace for to conferme oure byleve. And whan they were rysen from prayer, Saint Gregorye sawe the holy sacrament in figure of a pyece of fleshe, as grete as the lytull finger of an honde, and anon after by the prayer of Saint Gregorye the fleshe of the sacrament turned in the semblaunce of bread as it had ben tofore. And therwyth he houseled the woman, whych after was more relygyous, and the people more ferme in the fayth.”

It will be observed that the treatment of the subject is not literal, and some might object on this ground against it being the legend illustrated by the design. On this head, however, there can be no doubt; the frequent occurrence of the illustration, side by side with the story in illuminated missals, puts this point at once at rest. In fact the subject was always treated symbolically, the artists following a general rule; the chief object being to show, in the most palpable manner, the miraculous proof of the church's doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist: not a literal rendering, which, in fact, presents artistic difficulties, and would be less impressive on the uneducated minds to whom such representations were addressed. A very interesting

piece of sculpture, representing the same story, was discovered at Stoke-Charity church,



Hampshire, but a short time since, and of which an engraving is here given, from a drawing made by our indefatigable correspondent, Mr. Baigent, of Winchester, to whose active zeal the Association is much indebted. The variations in the treatment of the subject from that of the brass at Macclesfield, are, that Saint Gregory is represented as a bishop only; his mitre is deposited on the altar, and he holds in one hand the chalice, and in the other the consecrated host. Opposite to him is the figure of an attending priest, and behind the figure of the Saviour is a piece of drapery, held by two

angels issuing from heaven, doubtless intended for the *sindon*, or fine linen, in which our Lord's body was enwrapped. The book on the altar still retained some letters of the word "corpus" when the drawing was taken. This of itself would have been a clue to the story. The same subject, in sculpture, is to be found also in a chantry chapel of Exeter cathedral; it is much defaced. In this the figure of the unbelieving woman is introduced, and behind the figure of the Saviour are the cross, crown of thorns, and the other implements of the passion. A very elaborate design is also extant from this story, by Albert Durer. The literature of the middle ages abounds with tales of the miraculous host, all having the same intention—that of conversion of unbelievers to the doctrine of the real presence. One of the most celebrated paintings by Raffaele in the Vatican—the Mass of Bolsena—is from a similar legend, the circumstance supposed to have taken place in 1263; the substance of which story is, that a priest of doubtful faith was convinced by drops of blood issuing from the consecrated wafer. Before leaving

the consideration of this monument, the inscription beneath the representation must demand a short notice: it is as follows:—

“ The pardon for saying of 5 Pater nosters and
5 Aves and a crede is 26 thousand yerres
and 26 days of pardon.”

The announcement of pardon for saying prayers for the deceased is very commonly found on monumental brasses, but never before has the promised reward been of so liberal a character. In the earlier examples, those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a very common form of inscription appears, in which *forty days of pardon* is promised to those praying at the tomb. This occurs so frequently that it seems to have been the most usual term. An instance is found at Cobham, in Kent, in the monument of Lady Joan Cobham, date early in the fourteenth century. It runs thus:—

“ Dame Jone de Cobham gist ici
Dieu de sa alme eit mercy,
Ki ke pur sa alme priera
Quaraunte jours de pardoun avera.”

About this period very many similar ones occur; but the largest amount of “pardon” vouchsafed appears on a small brass, having two demi-figures, in Heylesdon church, Norfolk, where ten years and *forty days* are granted. This is an unusual instance, and the date of the monument is about the close of the fourteenth century. Roger Legh died, as before stated, 4th November 1506; eleven years later, viz., on the 31st October 1517, Martin Luther affixed to the church door of All Saints’ in Wittemburg his celebrated ninety-five propositions against pardons and indulgences. The abuse of them had much earlier attracted attention. Every reader of Chaucer must be familiar with the character of the pardoner, “with pardons from Rome al hote”; the late date, therefore, of this monument, being at the very period of the greatest abuse of the doctrine of indulgences, may account for its extravagance. This brass is noticed in a tract entitled “A View of Popery taken from the Creed of Pope Pius IV,” by Joseph Burroughs, London, 1735. It appears at that time to have been in the same mutilated condition, for in describing it he mistakes

the remaining figure for a female, which error is repeated in Mr. Ormerod's History of the county.

The brass to the memory of sir Peter Legh and lady in Winwick church, Lancashire, now demands our attention. It is fixed against the east wall of a chantry chapel in that church, having been removed from its original position on the floor. It consists of two figures, an inscription at their feet, an escutcheon of arms above their heads, and around the whole is a fillet with the mortuary inscription, having at the corners the symbols of the evangelists. The figure of the lady, on the left side, represents her habited in a close-fitting robe of ermine, not reaching below the knees, without sleeves, worn over a gown which reaches to the feet, and confined at the waist with a girdle, from which, depending by a chain, is a pomander of goldsmith's work. Hanging from her neck by a similar chain is a cross of St. Anthony, of rather large dimensions. On her head is a stiff veil, and she also wears an emblazoned mantle, on which appear the arms of Haydock and Croft.

It is, however, to the knight's figure that our attention is particularly required, for there is not another similar example extant, nor is it easy to find analogies wherewith to compare and illustrate it. He is habited in the complete armour of his time; but his head is bare, and exhibits the tonsure of a priest, and over his armour he wears the chasuble or vestment used at the celebration of the mass, and consequently the most sacred of those used in the Roman Catholic service. On his breast is an escutcheon of arms, containing, in the following order,—“Haydock, Legh,—Ashton, Molyneux, and, parted per fess., Croft and Butler”.

Now, the point of interest is evidently that which presents the two-fold insignia of the priest and knight in combination, and which would doubtless have afforded room for many a learned guess and disquisition, but for the inscription at the feet of the figures, which informs us, that after the decease of Ellen his wife, he was consecrated a *priest*, and died the 11th of August 1527. It is singular that the other inscription, beginning “Orate pro animabus”, speaks of him only as “sir Peter Legh, knight”; but in legal proceedings, of which many appear in the Pleadings of the Duchy of Lancaster, he is constantly styled “*knight and priest*”. The rest of the inscription

informs us, that Ellen his wife was the daughter of sir John Savage, who died 17th of May 1491, and was buried at Bewgenett. Thus sir Peter survived her thirty-six years. A transition from an active military life to that of holy orders is by no means uncommon; and in the middle ages many a hero terminated his life in the cloister. To the latter a peculiar value was attached—even to be buried in the monastic habit was held of singular advantage to the departed soul. Pope Clement the Fifth remitted the fourth part of all sins to those buried in the habit of a friar, and this popular superstition was loudly denounced by the early reformers. Conington church, Huntingdonshire, supplies us with the only monument analogous to that of sir Peter Legh in this country. It is a very interesting recumbent effigy of the early part of the fourteenth century, and represents the figure of a knight in complete armour of chain-mail, over which he wears the habit of a monk. His coif of mail peeps from beneath the hood, and his hands are covered with mittens of the same from beneath the sleeves of his frock. This early monument has no inscription to elucidate the reason of this combination; but we may well imagine that, like sir Peter Legh, the deceased closed his life as a humble servant of the church. Dugdale, in his *History of Warwickshire*, gives an inscription in Latin, to Daniel Blacford, who died the 25th of October 1681, aged fifty-nine. It is not stated whether he was in holy orders; but the following inscription, which is in English beneath the Latin one, is an apt illustration to the foregoing remarks:—

“When I was younge I ventured life and blood,
Both for my kinge and for my countrey's good;
In elder yeares my care was chief to be
Souldier for him that shed his blood for me.”

If we would seek further analogies, we must go to the tombs of the prince-bishops of Germany. The union of the temporal and spiritual authority in one individual was not unknown to this country, as in the case, until very lately, of the bishops of Durham; and many a time could the history of border warfare and the Scottish wars, give proofs of these dignitaries laying aside the cassock for the mailed hauberk, and donning the helmet for the mitre.

Nor was it unusual in the middle ages to find instances of the *church militant* in those not possessing the united jurisdiction; for as late as the battle of Flodden, on the Scottish side, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, two bishops, and four abbots, were among the slain. At Baden-Baden is a monument to Frederic, bishop of Utrecht, who died in 1517; it is of bronze, and represents the bishop in complete armour, over which he wears a cope, and on his head the mitre. There are many in different parts of Germany, but this will be sufficient to mention as an example. But in these monuments the meaning is of course very obvious—the peculiar jurisdiction before alluded to is symbolized upon the monument to their memory, in the most direct and palpable manner; and in so far they differ materially from that of sir Peter Legh and the effigy at Conington.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to enter into the family history of Legh; Mr. Ormerod's admiral history of the county enters fully into that matter, and to that work we refer all those who may wish to seek information respecting it. It may, however, be remarked, how the name of Peter has constantly been handed down from generation to generation to the representatives of the estates of Legh of Lyme, that branch of the family to which sir Peter belonged. The estate of Lyme or Hanley was granted to sir Thomas Daniers by Edward the Black Prince, for his gallantry at Cressy, and his daughter and heiress married a sir Peter Legh. Roger Legh belonged to a branch distinguished as "Legh of the Ridge".

Among the monuments of the Molyneux family in Sefton church, is one which particularly demands the attention of the antiquary and historian,—the brass to the memory of sir William Molyneux, ancestor to the earl of Sefton, and one of the most redoubtable heroes of Flodden Field. To the antiquary, the points calling for notice are portions of the armour of the knight, which at this time had been disused for two hundred years, in fact, had been superseded by those improvements in defence which followed the introduction of plate-armour.

The monument, which is unfortunately mutilated, consists of three figures, that of the knight and his two wives. In the costume of the latter there is nothing remarkable beyond what is ordinarily found at the period. Above the

head of the knight is an escutcheon of arms, containing the bearing of Molyneux,—a cross *moline*, in allusion to the name,—the crest, a peacock's plume and two emblazoned banners, one of which is nearly gone. Over the heads of the ladies have been arms on lozenge-shaped shields,—one of these is lost,—they contained family bearings of his two wives. At the feet is another atchievement, containing twelve coats, those of Molyneux, Garnet, Villars, Keiton, Elliott, Thweng, Holland, Heyton, Haydock, Dutton, Thornton, and Misshull; beneath which is the motto: “En droit devant”. The inscription, written in not inelegant Latin, is as follows:—“Guillielmus Molineux miles dominus de Sefton, ter adversus Scotos regnante in Angliâ Rege Henrico Octavo in prælium missus fortiter se gessit, maxime vero apud Floydon, ubi duo armorum vexilla Scotis strenue resistentibus suâ manu cœpit. In pace cunctis charus amicos consilio egenos eleemosinis sublevavit. Duas uxores habuit, priorem Janam Richardi Rugge in comitatu Salopie militis unicam filiam, et heredem ex quâ Richardum, Janam et Annam: posteriorem Elizabetham filiam et heredem Cutberti Clifton armigeri, ex quâ Guilielmum, Thomam, et Annam genuit. Annos 65 vixit hic, in spe resurrectionis cum majoribus requiescit, anno Domini 1548, mense Julij.”

By this we learn that he was thrice in battle against the Scots, bearing himself bravely, but chiefly at Flodden, where he took two standards or banners with his own hands from the enemy. It next comments upon his domestic virtues and his charity,—tells us he was twice married, had six children, and died at the age of 65, and now reposes with his ancestors in the hope of the resurrection, in the year of our Lord 1548.

It is now, then, that your attention must be directed to the peculiarities in the figure of sir William Molyneux. He is in complete armour, the general aspect of which is that worn in England down to the reign of James I. The peculiar features are, that his breastplate is emblazoned with the *cross*—



moline of his arms, a circumstance most unusual: his head is protected by a coif of mail, in the fashion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and he wears a very ample skirt of the same, reaching to his knees, and, from its appearance, it is not unlikely to be a complete hauberk; but, without presuming to judge upon this point, which may be questioned, we will confine our observations to the coif. This is, in all respects, the same as that worn in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, covering the head, neck, and chest.

Now, the question for our solution, is the reason for this singular departure from the ordinary costume of the time. We may be quite assured, that these monuments do present to us, in most instances, the actual array of the deceased; and we must also take into consideration the fact, that monuments are often intended to commemorate with the individual the most important event of his life. This is evidently the case in the instance before us, and we may, therefore, suppose that, at least, the monument presents us with the very appearance of sir William as he went forth to the field of Flodden, and not, as a matter of course, his ordinary military equipment, or one at all common at his time. May we further conjecture that, as the breaking out of the war with the Scots was sudden, and the king abroad with a large army, that the precipitate array might have prevented the complete arming of both knights and retainers? If the contemporary ballads on the subject do not altogether indulge in poetical licence, such was the case.

“ Then every lord and knight each where
 And barons bold in musters met,
 Each man made haste to mend his gear,
 And some their rusty pikes did whet.
 Some made a mell of massy lead,
 Which iron all about did bind;
 Some made a helmet for the head,
 And some their grisly gisarings grind.
 Some made their battle-axes bright,
 Some from their bills did rub the rust,
 Some made long pikes, and lances light,
 Some pike-forks for to join and thrust.”¹

We may, not unnaturally, ask, then, if the appearance

¹ Weber, “Flodden Field”.

of sir William may not be accounted for by his having arrayed himself in portions of the armour of his ancestors, preserved in his ancestral halls, to meet the exigence of the occasion?

Of the two banners taken by sir William, the earl of Huntley's alone remains on his monument, the other being broken away. It represents, on a field, *gules* — ships or galleys,—*argent*; a falcon rising, *or* between a stag in his course and a greyhound running, *or* *courant-argent*; in the point, the cri-de-guerre or war-cry, *clanc-tout*. In the draught at Herald's College, this is read *clang-toye*. The monument, doubtless, is the more correct authority; it has been explained as signifying "call all", or *clamez tout*. This does not appear quite satisfactory, as it is founded on an erroneous reading.



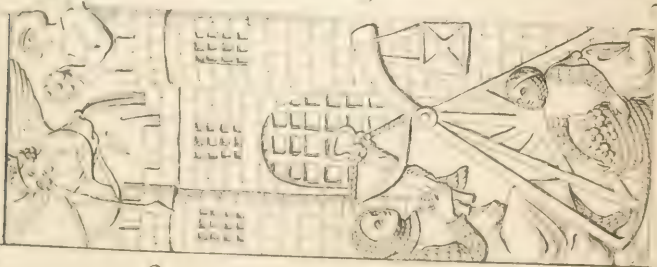
The other banner is also delineated at Herald's College, from which we are enabled to present its blazon. It represents, on a field, *gules*, an *heraldical* tiger, running, *or*. At present we are unable to state to what chieftain this belonged.

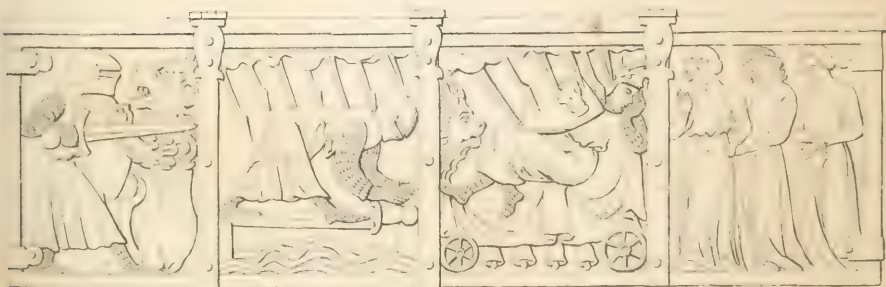
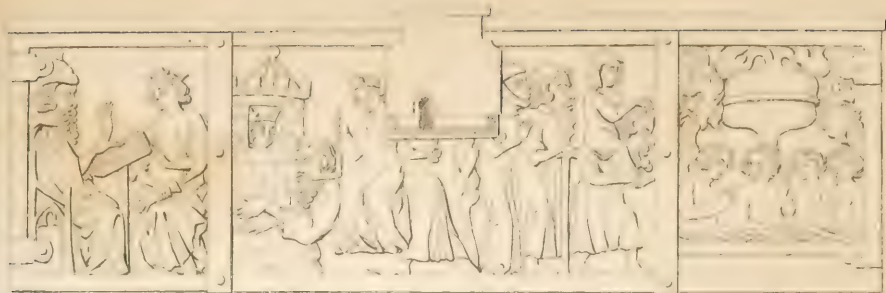
It is greatly to be regretted that the whole of the interesting series of monuments in Sefton church have not been preserved with more religious care. The brasses have especially suffered from neglect and indifference; but it is to be hoped, that the increasing knowledge of the value of these records of the past will, for the future, assist in their preservation.

REMARKS ON
AN IVORY CASKET, OF THE BEGINNING OF
THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

It is hardly necessary to speak to our readers of the value to the archaeologist of ancient pictorial representations. They tell us what we could not learn from inanimate remains; they do more than written descriptions,—they place the people of past ages before our eyes, in actual life,—they introduce us to those minutiae of manners and sentiment which all other classes of historical monuments omit. How much light has been thrown on the manners of the Etruscans and Greeks at a very remote period by the beautiful pictures on their pottery! And how little should we know of ancient Egypt without the scenes which its people caused to be painted on their temples and tombs. So it is with Europe during that long and interesting period known as the middle ages, which has left us a mass of pictorial monuments, more numerous, and more varied in character, than those of Rome, Greece, or Egypt. As these pictures are attached to various classes of articles, which were appropriate to different ranks, professions, ages, or sexes, we are enabled to arrange the subjects and study them in those classes so as to make ourselves familiar, in some degree, with the peculiar sentiments and pursuits of each.

In the earlier times of the middle ages the fine arts were to a great extent monopolized by the clergy, and applied chiefly to sacred purposes. For some centuries, even in miniatures, few manuscripts were illuminated except Bibles, and Psalters, and Service-books, which are valuable chiefly as illustrations of Christian iconology. Until the thirteenth century, that class of illuminated manuscripts still predominated. The period last mentioned,—the thirteenth century,—witnessed that great development of the intelligence of the middle ages, the effects of which spread through all classes of society, and which was particularly visible in the new classes of subjects on which the artist





exercised his talents. It was about this time that the sculptured seats came into vogue, by which the carver introduced into the churches those burlesque pictures which illustrated the occupations of every-day life. At our meeting at Worcester last year, I had the honour of calling attention to the interesting specimens preserved in that city, and at Great Malvern and other churches, and there are specimens no less remarkable in Chester cathedral. In the thirteenth century, the illuminators, or painters, worked no longer for the church alone. They painted walls for princes and nobles, and they illuminated manuscripts on a great variety of subjects for the use of knights and ladies. The subjects which had at this period most interest for the higher ranks of society, and more especially for the ladies, were the various incidents of that extensive class of literature—the medieval romances. These we shall trace on a variety of domestic articles of this period, appropriated to the use of the female members of the baronial household, carved in ivory, or wood, or other material; and they appear more especially on those curious and elegant caskets which are by no means uncommon in great collections of medieval antiquities, and of which we have here the opportunity of examining a very remarkable specimen, through the kindness of its possessor, our respected associate, Mr. Seth W. Stevenson, F.S.A., of Norwich. It is distinguished by the beautiful style of its execution; and the character of the workmanship, the costume of the figures, and other circumstances, lead us to ascribe it to a date not later than the earlier part of the fourteenth century. The part of it which first and chiefly attracts attention is its pictorial embellishments, and to this I intend to confine my remarks.

The particular description of the pictures before us, will be rendered more intelligible and popular by a few general remarks on the class of literature to which they relate. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to remind the reader, that the word *romance*, the meaning of which is now restricted to works of fiction, referred originally to the language only in which they were written. *Lingua romana*, the Roman tongue, was the name which, in the middle ages, applied to all the languages which were derived directly from the Latin, such as French, Anglo-Norman, Italian, Provençal, or Spanish. A *romans* (*Romanus*

liber), was a book written in any one of these languages, and as during this period they were used chiefly in writing those peculiar compositions which we are still in the habit of calling romances, it became common to quote for authorities in such compositions the *romans*, or book written in the Roman language, until the word, at a much later period than that of which we are more especially treating of, began to be taken in its present signification, and in which I shall always use it in the course of the following observations.

The subjects of the medieval romances were derived from various distinct sources. Some were taken from the old traditions of the people among whom they were composed, and these form perhaps the largest and most important class; they are certainly the earliest in the date of their formation. Two large and very important cycles ran through the neo-latin or romane languages, and were afterwards transferred to German, English, and other tongues. One of these, grouped round the kings of the Carolingian race, was peculiar to the Franks, and its various romances were generally known under the title of *chansons de geste*, the meaning of which is best rendered in modern English by the term *historical romances*; the other cycle has for its heroes the supposed British king Arthur and his knights. The first of these cycles, which is exceedingly voluminous, having its scene at a period the events of which belonged to comparatively true history, had far less of the marvellous in its construction, and was almost entirely occupied with the description of warlike expeditions. The story of the expedition into Spain, and the disaster of Roncesvaux, appears to have been the only fragment of it ever popular in England. The cycle of king Arthur, which was, from its subject, much more English, having a foundation which partook far more of the really mythic character, was devoted almost entirely to scenes of love and gallantry,—the chivalry of the chamber and the tournament.

As the influence of these compositions became more general and extensive, the composers began to aim at variety, and then they sought foreign subjects, and scrupled not to borrow them from ancient, and even from Scripture, history. Thus we have the romance of Alexander, the

romance of Troy, the romance of Jason, that of Eneas, and a multitude of similar subjects. Gradually the writers became more inventive, and then we find allegorical and mystical romances, a class of which the grand type was the famous Romance of the Rose, in which the progress of the soft passion was allegorized in a manner the most original and extraordinary.

From the twelfth to the sixteenth century the literature of the ladies was especially and universally one of love and gallantry, and of this the casket under our consideration, as certainly designed for lady's use, is a very interesting example. History shows us on one hand how essentially the subjects engraved on it were congenial to the education of the fair sex during the middle ages, and on the other hand, how much influence they exerted on its morals and fate. I will endeavour to illustrate this by the description of the subjects themselves, and I shall take them rather in the order indicated by the history of romantic literature, than in that in which they appear on the casket.

There were two very remarkable branches of the romantic cycle of king Arthur, which enjoyed an extraordinary popularity during the middle ages; one related the love adventures of Lancelot and Arthur's frail queen, Guenevra,—the other, those of Tristan and the fair Isoude, the queen of king Mark of Cornwall. It was the passion portrayed under its different causes and circumstances; in one case influenced by the personal accomplishments and temperament of the individuals; in the other, by a power, the belief in which formed a portion of the superstitions of the western people before their conversion to Christianity, and which still weighed heavy upon their faith—that of fate. Most of our readers will know the story of Tristan: he was sent over to Ireland to fetch home Mark's betrothed queen, Isoude, who brought with her an enchanted potion which she was to drink with her husband, and which had the virtue of creating an everlasting love between the persons who first pledged each other in it; by a fatal error, the lady and Tristan drank the potion in their passage from Ireland, and, although she became king Mark's wife, her love had thus been irrevocably disposed of.

There is an incident in the romance of Lancelot which appears to have had so peculiar an attraction for the

romance readers of the thirteenth century, that one of the celebrated poets of that period, Chrestien de Troyes, made it the subject of a separate poem, entitled *La Charrette*, or *The Cart*. A “felon” king, Brandemagus, had carried away queen Guenevra as his prisoner; and her lover, Lancelot, who arrived at court too late to defend her, set out in her pursuit. An accident deprived him of the use of his horse, and in his distress he asked for information of a deformed dwarf, who was leading a cart, and who assured him that he knew which way the queen had gone, and engaged, if he would ride in his cart, to carry him to his mistress. It appears, that at this time, none but condemned criminals ever rode in carts, or at least, those who had become subjected to some terrible disgrace,¹ and it was only his extreme eagerness to overtake the queen which induced Lancelot reluctantly to accept the dwarf’s offer. On his road he was met by Gawayne, who was highly scandalized at his friend’s position, but they continued their route together until they came to the castle of a lady, who came out with her damsels to receive Gawayne with honours, while Lancelot was hissed and pelted by the menials. Through the intercession of Gawayne, who explained his friend’s situation, the lady was, with great difficulty, induced to extend her hospitality to Lancelot, who, after all, was treated with the utmost disrespect. Next morning, Lancelot having been furnished with a horse and spear, he set out with Gawayne, and finding two roads which led to the castle of Gailhon, in Brandemagus’s kingdom of Goire, where they knew that monarch was conveying his captive, they separated in order that each should take a different path. After meeting with several disagreeable adventures, most of them arising from his untoward journey in the cart, Lancelot at length came to a wide river, which he was obliged to pass by means of a bridge formed of an immense and sharp-edged sword. Having reached the other side in safety, he perceived a “vilain” approaching, who led two lions, with which he was compelled to fight;² but finding

¹ A celui tamps estoit si laide chose de carete, que nus ne seist dedens que toutes lois et toutes honors n’eust perdues; et quant on voloit un homme toir honor, si le faisoit-on monter en une charrete, et pus le faisoit-on mener

par la vile, et y estoit tant que de tous estoit veus, ne ja en nulle vile tant fust graus ne jeust c’une nuit.—*Romance of Lancelot*, Brit. Mus. MS. Addit. No. 10,293, fol. 182, vo.

² Quant il vint à terre, il s’est assis

that his strokes produced no effect, he drew forth the ring which had been given him by the lady of the lake, and then his opponents disappeared, and he learnt that it was all enchantment. After this he reached the object of his search; but the adventure of the cart, which was known also to Guenevra, produced a quarrel and temporary separation between the queen and her lover.

The incidents of this story will easily be recognized in the four compartments of the back of the casket, here numbered from 9 to 12. No. 11 is evidently intended to represent Lancelot in the cart; perhaps the lion's head was introduced by a mistake of the carver, who ought to have introduced here the dwarf. No. 12, perhaps, represents the lady of the castle and her damsels, looking on Lancelot and his cart with feelings of shame. In No. 10, he is passing the strange and perilous bridge; and No. 9 represents his encounter with the lions. Some attributes in these figures are not easily explained from the romance, and they may have been taken from another version of it. Perhaps the spears and sword-blades issuing from the clouds are intended to indicate that it is all the work of enchantment.

We thus see, that the romance of Lancelot (which I may observe was the foundation of the later romance of the Mort Arthur), has its representative on our casket. We shall find the other grand love romance, that of Tristan, figuring there too.

In the course of their adventures, the two lovers had given each other a rendezvous by night under a tree in king Mark's orchard. The king, informed of their intentions by a spy, concealed himself in the tree to be a witness of his wife's infidelity. The night happened to be moonlight, and as the queen approached the spot, she beheld the shadow of her husband's face in a fountain under the tree, before she had said anything to criminate herself. She made her lover understand their danger, and their conversation took such a turn as convinced the king that Isoude and Tristan had been unjustly slandered.¹

à chevauchons, et sache l'espée, et met l'escu par devant son vis, et apele les lyons qui ja estoient descayné, et il acorent, si li rendent grant assaut.—*Lancelot*, ib. fol. 196, v^o.

¹ This incident is described in one of the fragments of the romance of Tristan, published in Michel's Collection, vol. i, page 1, which opens imperfectly in the middle of the scene. It

This scene is represented in the compartment of one side of the casket, marked No. 6, and there are circumstances about it which would seem to show, that the carver was following a model, the subject of which he did not perfectly understand. There is something original in the substantial manner in which the shadow of the king's face is represented; but if we look closer we shall see, that while the real substantial king Mark in the tree is represented as a beardless youth, his shadow in the water possesses a beard of fair dimensions. The carver has either taken the beard in the substance above for part of the tree, or he transformed a part of the water beneath into a beard for the shadow.

I am inclined to think, that our casket presents another subject taken from the romance of Tristan. On one occasion, Isoude was obliged to clear herself by an oath taken upon the holy relics, to visit which she had to pass a river. Tristan came there in the disguise of a beggar, and was employed to carry his mistress over the water, and a pretended accident enabled her to avoid perjury by an equivocation, easily enough explained by the picture, for she swore, that no man had ever been between her legs except her husband, king Mark, and the beggar-man who carried her over the water. The compartment, marked No. 4, appears to represent Isoude carried on the shoulders of the pretended beggar. I will only remark, that this seems to be the way in which gentlemen carried ladies in the middle ages.

The other two classes of romances to which I have alluded, also find their representative in this casket. The romance of Alexander the Great, with its various branches, enjoyed great popularity during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and some of its incidents gave rise to separate poems or tracts. Several of these relate to the great monarch's instructor, Aristotle. One division of the romance, and no small one, related to the monstrous animals the conqueror of India was said to have met with in his travels, and a tract in which Aristotle is made to

will be found in the early English romance, Scott's "Sir Tristrem", fyfte ii, stanzas 86 to 95. It may be observed, that sir Walter Scott has erroneously

printed the name Ysonde throughout the poem: it is in Latin *Isolda*; in Anglo-Norman and old French, *Isolde* and *Isoude*.

describe these monsters, had an extensive influence on the science of natural history as it was taught in the middle ages. But the philosopher and his pupil were made to figure in a story of a more amusing character.

Love and gallantry appear to have been the grand occupation of the ladies in all grades of society during the middle ages, and the laxitude of mediæval manners allowed of a degree of license which we can now with difficulty conceive. If this procured for the fair, on one hand, the devotion and service of the gentler class of poets, it exposed them, on the other, to the attacks of the satirist and moralist, and these were often bitter and coarse. But the victims found their revenge in a number of stories in which the wisest philosophers and greatest sages were humbled beneath the irresistible sway of beauty. One of these stories related to Alexander and his teacher, and was in the thirteenth century made the subject of a little poem by a trouvère named Henri d'Andeli, which bears the title of the *Lai d'Aristote*.

Alexander, according to this romantic story, had a very beautiful Indian princess for his mistress; and her charms were so powerful, that the king neglected not only the lessons of his teachers but the counsels of his ministers. At last, Aristotle took an opportunity of expostulating so warmly with his royal pupil, that for a time Alexander absented himself from the society of the princess. The latter at length pressed her lover to tell her the cause of his apparent coldness, and he made a full confession. The lady was resolved to have her revenge; she clad herself one morning in a loose dress, gave herself her most tempting airs, and placed herself in the way of the philosopher, who, in spite of his age and wisdom, was suddenly seized with the most violent passion, and pressed earnestly for her love. The princess refused to listen to him unless he first consented to place himself on his hands and knees, submit to a saddle and bridle, and in that position to allow her to ride round the garden on his back. He agreed to her terms, and, in the midst of her ride, Alexander, who had been made privy to the plot, suddenly showed himself from a window, and rebuked his wise instructor for his folly. The moral of the story taught, that none were

exempt from love's power, not even those who were so eager to speak of it with disrespect.

The compartments on the front of the casket contain allusions to the romance of Alexander, and to the Lay of Aristotle. In the first, marked No. 2, Aristotle is employed in teaching his pupil. The next (No. 3) represents the subject of the lay. The allusion in the compartment No. 5, is more doubtful. It has been suggested to me that it represents a scene in the romance of Alexander, in which that monarch, in the course of his Indian campaign, was made to descend to the bottom of the sea in a glass globe, in order to survey the wonders of the deep. Perhaps it is Alexander's globe which is here descending among the sea nymphs. But I am inclined to think it may be a mere ordinary representation of nymphs bathing in a fountain.

The allegorical romances have their representative in the subject on one end of the casket (No. 8), and perhaps also in the larger subject which covers the lid. The first is probably taken from the *Romance of the Rose*, and seems to represent Danger consenting to receive the lover into the tower in which Bel-accueil is shut up. It would take more time than is at present at our disposal, to give such an analysis of this romance as would explain the story.

The large figure on the lid represents the attack upon, and defence of, the castle of love. The weapons, it will be seen, are roses, with one exception, that of love himself, who makes use of his arrows. The tournament in the middle is a part of the subject, which was one of great popularity in the age to which this relic belongs, and is frequently found represented on articles used by the ladies. It appears, indeed, that among the imaginative Provençals of the warm south, where these love-allegories were wrought into substantial pastimes, this scene of mock warfare was not unfrequently put into actual practice. Such a scene is recorded as having been acted at Vincenzo in 1216; a wooden castle was built, defended by ladies dressed in magnificent robes, and attacked by knights. Flowers were the only missiles they were permitted to use. A Provençal poet of the same age, Rambaud de Vaqueiras, has described, in one of his lyrics, the ladies as carrying on this counter-feit war, and building imitations of castles—

“Truan mala guerra
 Sai volon comensar
 Donas d'esta terra,
 E vilas contrafar ;
 En plan o en serra
 Volon ciutat levar
 ab tors.”

that is, “The ladies of this land will commence here vile wicked war, and counterfeit the villains; they will raise a citadel with towers, on level ground, or on a hill.”

There remains one other subject on our casket to explain, which, if it does not belong to what we are in the custom of calling romances, is still of a romantic character. It is taken from what may be called the romance of science. The compartment No. 7 represents the well-known story of the fabulous unicorn—the fiercest of animals—which yet became tame when in the presence of a pure maiden; and it was only under these circumstances that it was ever killed by hunters. This subject, involving a beautiful allegory, was a favourite one, and is found in innumerable paintings and sculptures. It is rightly placed here among subjects which relate almost entirely to love.

Thus, in tracing the various subjects represented on this beautiful casket, we are throwing new light on the manners and sentiments of a remote period, but one which can never fail to have an interest for the historian. The knowledge of manners and sentiments is a very important portion of history itself; while by this same monument we are gaining a new insight into the history of literature,—one which shows us the influence which that literature had on the character of the age. It becomes thus a speaking picture of the past. The reader will no doubt remember, that singular illustration of the influence of one of the very romances pictured on this casket, furnished by the immortal stanzas of Dante, where the poet describes his meeting with the shades of the two lovers Francesca and Paolo de Rimini. The lady, at the request of the poetic trespasser on the regions below, gives the following account of her temptation:—“There is no greater grief,” she is made to say, “than to remember in one’s misfortune the past period of happiness; and your teacher (Virgil) knows it well. But if thou hast so great a desire to know what

was the first root of our love, I will imitate him who weeps and speaks at the same time. We were reading one day for pastime the adventures of Lancelot, how he was caught with love; we were alone, and without any distrust. Many times this reading made our eyes meet and our cheeks change colour; but it was one single passage which overcame us. When we read of the soft smile of his mistress smothered by the kiss of the lover, this one here, who will never be separated from me, kissed me on the mouth, all trembling; the book and its writer were for us a Gallehaut; that day we read no more."

“ Ed ella a me : Nessun maggior dolore,
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria; a ciò sa il tuo dottore.

Ma se a conoscer la prima radice
Del nostro amor tu hai cotanto affetto,
Farò come colui che piange e dice.

Noi leggevamo un giorno per diletto
Di Lancillotto, come amor lo strinse :
Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto.

Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
Quella lettura, e scolorocci il viso :
Ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse.

Quando leggemmo il disiato riso
Esser baciato da cotanto amante,
Questi, che mai da me non fio diviso,

La bocca mi baciò tutto tremante :
Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse :
Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante.”—

Dante, Infern., canto v, ll. 121-138.

But there is another point of view in which the consideration of this casket has an interest for the archæologist. We find these identical subjects, collectively or separately, figured on other caskets, and in a manner so similar, that they were evidently copied from one model. In the first place, there exists another casket, of which a rather rude engraving was given in Carter's *Ancient Sculpture*, and which is now preserved in the museum of the late sir Samuel Meyrick, which contains the same subjects, arranged in the same order, and so similar in design, that we might have supposed it the same casket, but for a vari-

ation in the subject marked No. 4. I have some reason for suspecting, that another casket in the same collection contains some of the same subjects. A similar casket, then apparently existing in some collection in Italy, and engraved by Gori in his *Thesaurus Diptychorum*,¹ contained the subjects taken from the romance of Lancelot, with the variation, that the three ladies are introduced in the same compartment with Lancelot in the cart, and that he is engaged, as in the romance, with two lions; and it has the siege of the castle of love as here on the lid, but the other subjects are different,—one side being taken up with subjects from the romance of Valentine and Orson. The siege of the castle of love is found, perhaps, more frequently than any of the others. In the sixteenth volume of the *Archæologia*, a plate of ivory was engraved, with a carving of this subject treated in nearly the same manner, but showing the moment in which the knights make themselves masters of the fortress, and are received with open arms by its defenders; and a similar plate of ivory, with the same subject, engraved in Du Sommerard's *Album*, shews that this article was the back of a mirror. The same subject appears in one of the illuminations of the now celebrated *Loutterel Psalter*. The Lay of Aristotle, and the legend of the unicorn, are of still more frequent occurrence.

The circumstance of this repetition of the same subjects and the same designs, is a curious phenomenon in the history of medieval art. It shews that there was one common origin for certain classes of artistical productions—a principal school, from which, probably, not only the practice of the art, but the particular series of subjects to be engraved, were derived, and these were varied, perhaps, according to established rules, on which a careful comparison of such relics as that now before us may throw some light. The same practice is traced in other lines of medieval art, and offers a question well worthy of minute examination.

I will conclude with pointing out a singular circumstance connected with this particular subject. A few of these romance subjects are found sculptured on buildings,

¹ Reproduced in a plate in Ferrario, *Moires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tom. xviii, page 322. *"Analisi degli Romanzi di Cavalleria"*, tom. ii, page 101; and in the "Mé-

and even in churches. The legend of the unicorn is met with on architectural monuments, and in the carved stalls of the church of Stratford-on-Avon and Chester cathedral; and the lay of Aristotle is sculptured on the masonry of the cathedral of Lyons, and on the stalls of that of Rouen. In the church of St. Pierre, at Caen, there is a capital of a column of about the date of our casket, on which are represented part of this same series of subjects, and under the same forms. It would seem as if the stone sculptor had obtained, among his other designs belonging to his own class of artists, a copy of this particular set from the artists from whose hands we derive the ivory caskets.

The curious sculptures on the column of the church of St. Pierre,¹ run round the capital of one of the columns of the nave. Among them we find, as here represented in our cut No. 1, the story of the unicorn, which, as I have



No. 1.

already observed, is found repeatedly on monuments of almost every description. It differs in one respect from every other example of this subject I have met with, in which the hunter uses a spear; he is here armed with a bow and arrow. A second compartment of these sculptures (see the cut, No. 2) represents other subjects, taken from what may be called the romance of science. We have on one side the phœnix rising from its flames, a subject celebrated so often in medieval literature; and on the other

¹ The church of St. Pierre, at Caen, is an interesting edifice. The choir and part of the nave, according to the account given by the abbé de la Rue (*Essais historiques sur la ville de Caen*, vol. i, page 94), were built at the latter end of the thirteenth century; and the rest of the nave and tower were finished in 1308. M. de la Rue, in the work

just alluded to, has given bad and incorrect engravings of these sculptures, and has quite misunderstood and misinterpreted them. He says, that they are on the capital of "one of the last pillars of the left side of the nave," but it is not clear whether they belong to the older or to the later building.

the equally wide-famed pelican. Both these subjects were favourite emblems with our forefathers. Between them appears a man forcing open the jaws of a lion which he



No. 2.

has vanquished, but whether it be intended to represent the story of Samson, or a similar incident which occurs in more than one medieval romance, I will not venture to decide. The next compartment (No. 3) represents Lancelot in the disgraceful cart. We at once observe the exact similitude in this design with those which have been



No. 3.

pointed out in the caskets; the somewhat elegantly formed cart, with its wheels and bells, the manner in which the knight is reclined, and the spears and sword-blades issuing from the clouds, and which I can only explain by supposing them to represent enchantment, are the same in each. This is the more remarkable, because in the illuminated manuscripts of the romance the design is quite different. There we have a common country cart, driven by a peasant, without bells or any of the other accessories of the sculptured designs. Perhaps the bells distinguish the vehicle as a cart in which criminals were conveyed to the scaffold. The next compartment (No. 4) represents Lancelot passing the water on the terrible sword. On the opposite bank stands (or rather, sits, and in a very grotesque posture) one

of the lions, waiting his arrival; and from the tower behind, the queen is seen watching the progress of her lover.



No. 4.

The fifth compartment of the sculptures at Caen represents the humiliation of the philosopher Aristotle, by the mistress of his royal pupil, which is treated with considerable skill. The lady here rides astride, with saddle and stirrups, whereas in the casket she rides in the same posture as ladies of the present day. From a very early



No. 5.

period, indeed,—probably from the time of the Norman Conquest, as various allusions of contemporary writers prove,—ladies appear to have ridden in either posture at pleasure.

The last compartment is closely allied to the subject last described, but it introduces us to a new romance, and is not found represented upon any other early monument with which I am acquainted. The romance of the Saint Graal forms one of the same series as that of Lancelot; it represents a kind of wild romantic account of the carrying of the Gospel to the west. Among one of the episodes is a legend, which does not appear to have belonged originally to the romance, relating to the physician Hippocrates, or, as he was called in the middle ages, Ypocras. The physician came to Rome to the court of "Cæsar Au-

gustus", and gained that emperor's special favour by the miraculous cure of his favourite nephew. The Ypocras of the fable was a philosopher and magician, as well as a physician, and he lived long at the court of Rome honoured and beloved. While he was still there, a company of people from Gaul arrived at court, and with them was a maiden of surpassing beauty, who soon became an object of admiration among the Romans. Among the rest, Ypocras, in spite of his philosophy and his other sage qualifications, became desperately enamoured of the Gallic maiden, and he seized every opportunity of pressing his suit. The maiden, in order to turn the wise philosopher to ridicule, encouraged his advances, and at last she agreed to admit him by night into her chamber, which was situated in a tower of the palace. She promised to let down a basket with a cord from the summit of the tower, and to raise him in it to her window, as the surest method of obtaining access to her unobserved. At the time appointed, the philosopher, true to his promise, came to the foot of the tower, found the basket, placed himself in it, and shook the string, as the signal that he was ready. The lady and her female attendant immediately pulled the basket up to near the summit of the tower, where it was impossible for the philosopher to get out, and there left him hanging during the following day, an object of derision to the whole population of Rome. The disgrace was great, as to be thus exposed in a basket was at that time the usual punishment for some very grievous misconduct. Ypocras subsequently executed a cruel vengeance on the author of his disgrace, which it is not necessary here to relate.¹

The compartment of the Caen sculptures just alluded to (see cut No. 6), represents, in a not very artistical manner, the Gallic maiden, at the summit of the tower, drawing up Ypocras in the basket. It was appropriately placed by the side of the story of Aristotle; both legends were used in the middle ages by the advocates of the ladies, to

¹ This same story, altered in some of its details, and with altogether a different conclusion as far as the lady was concerned, was a little later applied to the magician and philosopher Virgil (for such was the character which the bard of Mantua assumed in

the middle ages), and it formed a chapter in the old legendary history, called the "Life of Virgil". As told of Virgil, the story was very popular, as it is often alluded to in the popular writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

throw discredit on the pretended sages who professed to despise their charms and bid defiance to the power of love.¹

THOMAS WRIGHT.



No. 6.

¹ It is but justice to state here, that we are indebted for our drawings of these sculptures to our very distinguished foreign associate, Mons. de Formeville, of Caen, the secretary of the

Society of Antiquaries of Normandy ; and that they were beautifully executed for the society by an able artist and zealous antiquary of that city, M. Bonet.

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WILLIAM AYRTON, JUN., ESQ., HON. SECRETARY.

Proceedings at the Congress.

MONDAY, JULY 30, 1849.

THE Opening Meeting was held at 8 o'clock in the evening at the Royal Hotel, the President in the Chair.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester addressed the Members and Visitors present, observing that he felt great honour and pleasure in presenting to the meeting the noble President of the British Archaeological Association, Lord Albert Conyngham, who had done them the honour of fixing upon Chester as the place for holding the present annual meeting. I am aware (his lordship remarked) that there are many in the room who as members of the British Archaeological Association have been already introduced to his lordship—by them I am sure his lordship will be greeted with all those demonstrations of respect and kind feeling which are so justly due to him for the zeal he has shewn and the interest he has taken in the prosperity of the society from the first moment of its formation; as well as for the dignified and graceful courtesy with which he has on all occasions presided. It is not my business to say a single word for the inhabitants of Chester whom I have the pleasure of seeing around me, except to intimate that we heartily bid welcome to his lordship and all the members of the Archaeological Association. I can assure them we fully appreciate the honour conferred upon us by the visit, and I have no doubt they will find for themselves much that will gratify them in this ancient city. Chester contains many remarkable remains of the middle ages, as they are called; and no doubt the researches of the gentlemen connected with the Association will throw new light and impart new interest on that which was scarcely understood before. As I am sure there will be nothing wanting on the part of the members of the association to make their visit instructive to themselves, so I am sure there will be nothing wanting on our part to mark our sense of the privilege that has been conferred on us, and to make your visit, my lord, so far as we can, agreeable to yourselves, and not altogether unworthy of the distinguished honour which it implies.

Lord Albert Denison Conyngham then delivered the following address:

The pleasure which I always feel in addressing the members of the Archaeological Association is increased by my relief from the uneasiness which I felt during many months, lest the state of my health should prevent

my attending this Congress—an uneasiness which I could not dispel, though those months were passed whilst following that branch of science which has peculiar charms for me, upon the classical soil of Greece. I should indeed have deeply regretted had I been unable to meet my antiquarian friends in a locality so full of interest to them and to me as Chester. The British Archaeological Association has been founded to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers; and to render available the researches of a numerous class of lovers of antiquity, who are unconnected with the Society of Antiquaries of London. Where can the antiquary find a field for his labours more tempting than Chester? I can personally state that I felt interested in this city, and longed to visit it, since first I read the old chroniclers of our country; although it is true they give its early history in rather an unantiquarian manner. For instance, one attributes its foundation to a giant named Leon Gauer, and mentions it as that stately city, specially favoured by king Arthur the Great, who held a noble Parliament there, and states that in those days “the majesty thereof was such that all the forefronts of the houses were in manner laid over with gold, according to the Roman usage: that in Chester was in like sort a famous university, wherein were 200 philosophers, also two goodly churches erected in the remembrance of Julius and Aaron, two British martyrs.” It was at Chester where king Edgar, surnamed the Peaceable, was conveyed in great state along the river Dee, from his palace to the church of St. John and back again, the oars being managed by eight kings, and himself holding the helm. It was Chester that was given up by the Conqueror to Hugues d’Avranches, having the ominous title of Hugues d’Loup, and bearing a wolf’s head for his device. Who in this locality will not feel interested in endeavouring to trace truth from fable? At this meeting kindred minds may commune upon those subjects of antiquarian interest which they will assist each other in unravelling; and those who follow the study of antiquities merely as an amusement, may make up for the want of deep reading by the conversation of scientific men. In the opening address which I had the honour to deliver last year to the members of the Association at Worcester, I endeavoured to give a slight history of archaeology; I shall upon this occasion slightly touch on the advantages to be gained by its pursuits. It has been well said of another science, and may still better be applied to the study of archaeology, that like every intellectual pursuit, it is totally independent of external circumstances, and can be enjoyed in every situation in life in which a man can be placed. The highest degree of worldly prosperity is so far from being incompatible with it, that it affords additional advantages for its pursuit; it may be enjoyed in the intervals of the most active business, and the calm and

dispassionate interest with which it fills the mind, renders it a delightful retreat from the agitations and dissensions of the world, and from the conflict of passions, prejudices, and interests, in which the man of business finds himself continually engaged. But though the British Archaeological Association seeks to investigate and illustrate the history and monuments of its own country, it would be impossible to do this without studying archaeology generally, and entering into that of other countries to illustrate our own: and though the science of archaeology may be followed as a relaxation to the mind, it is highly important in the graver pursuits of life. No person taking part in public life can do so without some antiquarian knowledge. The explanation of the technical forms of government, the principles of public policy, the tenures of land, our British union of Teutonic custom with the Roman law, cannot be understood without some antiquarian research. That eminent and often quoted writer, Mons. de Tocqueville, thus lends his authority to the importance of antiquarian research:—"If we were able to go back to the elements of states, and to examine the oldest monuments of their history, I doubt not that we should discover the primary cause of the prejudices, the habits, the ruling passions, and in short of all that constitutes what is called the national character. We should then find the explanation of certain customs which now seem at variance with prevailing manners—of such laws as conflict with established principles, and of such incoherent opinions as are here and there to be met with in society; like those fragments of broken chains which we sometimes see hanging from the vaults of an edifice, and supporting nothing. This might explain the destinies of certain nations which seem borne along by an unknown force, to ends of which they themselves are ignorant. We cannot investigate and illustrate the monuments and arts of our own country without studying those of the more classic regions." That the artist requires their study we have the authority of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who says—"But we must not rest contented even in this general study of the moderns; we must trace back the art to its fountain head—to that source whence they drew their principal excellences, the monuments of pure antiquity. As the inventions and thoughts of the ancients, whether conveyed to us in statues, bas reliefs, intaglios, cameos, or coins, are to be sought after and carefully studied; the genius that hovers over these relics may be called the father of modern art." But if the study of antiquity is requisite for the politician and the artist, how much more is it required by those who turn their minds towards that higher study which reflects upon the Almighty and his ways. No antiquary can talk of chance or of fortune; he must see that what is chance in regard to our uncertain counsels, is a concerted design in a higher Counsel: that is, in that eternal Counsel which includes all causes and effects in one and the same order of things:

he will see how the Almighty prepared mankind from afar for the coming of the Messiah, by allowing the nations to walk after their own ways; while neither the light of reason nor the dictates of philosophy could dispel the clouds of error, or reform their depraved inclinations; and when he compares the present state of any country, where the Gospel is professed in its purity, with its state at that period when the Sun of Righteousness began to arise upon it, he will see the light pervading the region of darkness, and barbarism yielding to knowledge and mental cultivation."

The President then called upon Mr. Dillon Croker, who delivered a short paper on the Advantages of the Study of Archæology. He commenced by observing, that when showing visitors the collection of antiquities formed by his father, the question had been asked—"What is the use of all these old things?" in other words, "What is the good of archæology?" The study of archæology leads to the true understanding of history and its traditions. He then endeavoured to point out the advantages which may arise from archæological pursuits; and the deprivation of enjoyment to those, who, not being acquainted with the object, take no interest in the science. It has (he remarked) been my good fortune to meet with some of the most eminent scientific men of the present day, who have visited my father's museum, and by them I have heard archæology defined as the key which unlocks to our use the buried treasures of past ages; and compared to the telescope, as the medium through which far distant things are revealed to our knowledge. Archæology, if properly worked out, is a plain history of the human mind and its resources from the creation of the world to the present; and as a popular science, should go hand in hand with geology. Geology reveals the progress of natural causes; archæology discovers the history of whatever is produced by art; archæology exhibits in a wonderful manner the influence which an acquaintance or the contrary with the use and value of metals, and even personal ornaments, have had in promoting or retarding the progress of civilization throughout the universe. The organ of every wonderful science must be defined and its elements traced out by the archæologist. The archæologist must comprehend why many grand and obscure principles in the laws of nature have not been long since understood, and turned to practical account. It is the observation of Madame de Stael, that "the erudition derived from archæology is far more animated than that we acquire from books; we seem to revive what we unveil, and the past appears to rise from the dust which concealed it. This passion for antiquity is no idle prejudice. We live in an age when self-interest seems the ruling principle of all men. What sympathy—what enthusiasm can ever be its results?" Madame de Stael, in the same work, also truly says, "Antiquity inspires insatiable curiosity. To penetrate the

past, interrogate the human heart through many ages,—to seize on a fact, on a word, and on the manners or customs of a nation; in fact to re-enter the most distant time, in order to conceive how the earth looked in its youth, and in what way men supported the life which civilization has since rendered so complicated; this were a continual effort of imagination, whose guesses discover secrets that study and reflection cannot reveal." Thus does Madame de Staël popularly show how archaeology affects history. Without its aid history is but fable, or, what is worse than fable, theory as regards the past. Archaeology establishes or contradicts the existence of nations, and whether they flourished or fell. History may record their rise and progress, but archaeology must be the evidence whether history be true or false. Archaeology cannot take its proper position as a science until its value is acknowledged, its treasures arranged, and its principles understood. In the process of procuring the most precious ore, much worthless matter has often to be carefully sifted and cast away before its sterling worth can be ascertained; so must the rubbish which encumbers the golden treasures of archaeology be gradually cleared away by scientific labourers. In this process, however, the great difficulty is to say what is, or what is not, deserving the name of rubbish. A single character or mark upon the merest fragment of a stone or piece of clay may be of infinite importance in forming a link wanting decidedly to connect a chain of convincing argument; that link will be supplied by the study of archaeology.

J. R. Planché, esq., then read his paper on the Seals of the Earls of Chester (see pp. 235-252 *ante*).

Wm. Beamont, esq., followed with a paper "on the Origin, History, and existing Remains at Edisbury," commencing with the observation, that although the place was remarkable in itself, and situate only seven miles from Chester, it was but little known to the generality even of Cheshire antiquaries. My design (said Mr. B.) is to collect and bring before you in a popular form the few notices on the subject which are scattered in various authors, with a view of making its history better known, and thus adding another name to the places which have been the scenes of historical events in Cheshire. In bishop Gibson's map of Britain, prefixed to his edition of the *Saxon Chronicle*, we have proof that the direction of the wave of Saxon population was from south-east to north-west, for while the eastern and southern parts of the island are studded with the names of cities, towns, and places, known in the Saxon annals, the remote west, and the still remoter north, are comparatively unnoticed and unknown. Accordingly the county of Chester, in its whole extent, exhibits only four names of places, and the adjoining and far larger county of Lancaster only three names, which find a place upon the Saxon map of Britain, while no ancient road is shewn approaching nearer



to the latter county than the city of Chester, which is touched by one portion of the celebrated Watling Street. One of the four Cheshire places distinguished by a name on the Saxon map is Eadesbyrig, the place which is the object of our present inquiry, and which we find related in the *Saxon Chronicle* to have been founded by Ethelfleda, in the year 913. Its builder and founder was an heroic princess, worthy of her illustrious sire, our immortal Alfred; and Edisbury was selected by her, together with Runcorn, as fortified outposts for resisting an incursion of the Danes. Ethelfleda lived in stormy times, and it required all her vigour to preserve her dominions in peace, and after a rule of eight years over the kingdom of Mercia as viceroy of king Edward, she died at Tamworth in the year 920, being then about forty-five-years of age. Authorities differ as to the origin and meaning of the name which Ethelfleda bestowed upon the place which is the subject of enquiry; Webb, the author of *Vale Royal*, and *Ormerod*, the Cheshire historian, agree that its name implies the city of nobles, reading it probably as derived from *Ethelsbury*, whilst Camden says the name may be rendered "happy town," from the Saxon *eadig*, "happy"—this will explain the origin of Miss Sinclair's mistake when she says that a place called the "happy town" once stood on Beeston Hill. Dr. Whitaker, a high authority in Saxon etymology, concurs with Webb and Ormerod in calling Edisbury the city of nobles, although he is of opinion with Camden that its name is derived from the Saxon word *eadig*—happy. A new variation of the name has been adopted in the recent summons to the upper house of Parliament of the heir-apparent of a noble Cheshire family, in which Edisbury is spelt with a double *d*—a spelling which, if it were not modern, might serve further to explain the etymology of the name. No Saxon authority notices Edisbury again until the compilation of the *Domesday Book*, which mentions Hugh the Norman earl as its last possessor. How the Saxon owners were ejected does not appear, most probably it was by a process of violence less tedious than the law's delay. At this period it was in a very wasted state, and perhaps in consequence of the gradual subsidence of Danish insurrection and the absence of any neighbouring river, a city founded only in the preceding century by a neighbouring princess, was not thought of sufficient importance to constitute the head of a hundred. After dilating in detail on the probable laying out of the fortress and the remains found, Mr. Beaumont inquired, how does it happen that within the precincts of Edisbury we seek in vain for any remains of the castle of the foundress, or for any decisive traces of the former existence of buildings? Walls and structures raised by the Romans in Britain many centuries before the birth of Edisbury, still remain to attest the grandeur of the builders. The Norman fortress of Halton, and the still greater remains of Beeston, arrest the eye of the traveller at a distance, and astonish him by their grandeur on a near

approach. How is it then that within this royal city, raised by the illustrious daughter of our greatest monarch, not one stone remains upon another to shew what a Saxon place might be? Is it that here the hand of the spoiler has been more unrelenting in his devastation, or that the successive waves of ruin have wrecked the last vestiges of Saxon architecture within it? The demolition of Edisbury cannot, I think, be ascribed to any such causes. It is more probably owing to the habits of our Saxon ancestors, and the general character of their architecture, that we are without any remains of buildings either ecclesiastical or civil within the enclosure of Edisbury. The Saxons were mean builders; neither the structure nor the materials of a Saxon house were calculated for long duration, else would our Saxon ancestors, during their long sway in England, have left us more numerous as well as more perfect remains of the buildings they erected for civil or religious purposes. The ecclesiastical buildings of undoubted Saxon origin are but few, and a writer in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* informs us there were but few castles in England at the time of the Norman conquest, and that a part of the Conqueror's success is to be attributed to that circumstance. Mr. Fosbroke has given a description and a plate of an ancient Saxon house, and of its prototype, a house of their predecessors the Britons, neither of which structures either by their form or their materials gave promise of a long life. It appears, says Mr. Henry, from many incidental hints in our ancient historians, that stone buildings were still very rare in the eighth and ninth centuries, and when such buildings were erected they were objects of much admiration. Some of the buildings of Alfred were magnificent for that age, and of a new and singular construction; but they were generally more remarkable for their number and utility than their grandeur; for there is sufficient evidence that long after his time almost all the houses in England, and by far the greatest part of the monasteries and churches were very mean buildings, constructed of wood, and covered with thatch. We have seen that Edisbury at the time of the Domesday survey formed part of the possessions of earl Hugh, and we learn from Ormerod, and others, that nearly the whole of the present hundred of Edisbury, as well as a great part of the hundred of Nantwich, was converted into a forest for the support of the earl's game. Some advance had taken place in the neighbourhood since Ethelfleda had selected it as the site of one of her cities, and cultivation and civilization had left some traces upon the wilds, but the footsteps were soon obliterated by the heavy heel of conquest. Strong in her Saxon feelings, could Ethelfleda, when fostering her infant city of Edisbury, have cast forward a glance for two hundred years into the future, and have seen the change that in that time awaited her work, we might suppose her catching the feelings of a monarch in a later age, and exclaiming with him:—

“ O my poor country, sick with civil blows !
 When that my care could not withhold thy riots,
 What wilt thou do when riot is thy care ?
 O thou wilt be a wilderness again,
 Peopled with wolves, thy old inhabitants.”

But ancient civilization cannot wholly die ; and to this circumstance we owe it that soon after the Conquest the name of Ethelfleda's deserted city became and has ever since continued the name of the hundred of Edisbury. Possibly also that custom, which until lately prevailed in this hundred, is a relic of the Saxon period. Dr. Ormerod tells us that the tenants of the hundred were formerly summoned to the Court in a manner not unlike the gathering of a Highland clan, by the circuit of the fiery cross. Mr. Beaumont then made some observations on the state of the forest in the last stage of its existence, without, however, dwelling on the condition of Edisbury after it was included in the circuit of the forest, and thus concluded : We now see the forest impressed with the features of steady and permanent improvement. From the summit of Edisbury the eye may rest upon the summits of village churches near or more remote. The beasts which the Normans fostered are gone, and with them those savage laws which made it as criminal to kill a deer as to slay a man ; while fields of grain or extensive plantations of oak meet the view on every side :—

“ Behold in the soil of the forest once more
 The sapling takes root as in ages of yore.”

Nor is it beyond the reach of hope that during the life of our gracious Sovereign (whose reign may Heaven long prolong !) some of these infant monarchs of the forest may grow to be monarchs of the main ; and, transformed into that character, and sailing under the flag of Queen Victoria—the lineal descendant of Alfrida, the sister of that Ethelfleda who first planted Edisbury—may bear the religion, the intelligence, and the civilization of Britain to the remotest portions of the globe.

Thomas Wright, esq. read a paper “ on an Ivory Casket of the thirteenth century, as illustrative of the romantic literature of England in the middle ages” (see pp. 266-282 *ante*), after which T. J. Pettigrew, esq. read a paper by J. O. Halliwell, esq. “ on the Cottage Literature of the Palatine Counties, illustrated by notices of Fugitive Tracts, chiefly relating to Chester.”

TUESDAY, JULY 31.

The members assembled at ten o'clock in the Crown Court of the County Hall, where the chair was taken by the right rev. the lord bishop of Chester, supported by the right hon. lord de Tabley, the worshipful the mayor of Chester, sir Wm. Betham, V.P., and T. J. Pettigrew, esq., V.P.

The right rev. prelate, in opening the proceedings, stated that on the previous evening it had been his pleasing duty to welcome, on the part of the inhabitants of Chester, the arrival of lord Albert Conyngham, and the members of the British Archaeological Association; he had now, however, to discharge a painful task. He had to inform the meeting that lord Albert had that morning received a letter, announcing the dangerous illness of his uncle, who was to him as a father, and of whose recovery it was feared no hope remained. His lordship had, therefore, with great pain to his own feelings, been obliged to separate himself from his friends in Chester, and leave for London that morning, and thus forego the pleasure of passing a happy week which had been so happily begun. Such disappointments were not within their control. There was one way in which they could express their respect and sympathy for lord Albert, and that was by doing their best to make the meeting go off successfully, and that was to be effected by all the members uniting in one spirit of harmony and cordiality, as he was sure that his lordship had nothing more at heart than the harmony and prosperity of the Association over which he so worthily presided. The bishop, in terms of graceful eloquence, then introduced the more immediate business of the meeting, and the gentlemen who had kindly undertaken to deliver what he had no doubt would prove highly interesting and entertaining lectures; paying a deserved compliment to the talent and discriminating zeal of Mr. Black, in his examination of antiquarian records, and stating that sir W. Betham had left Dublin, where, as they all knew, there were now extraordinary inducements to remain, for the purpose of giving them the advantage of his presence and information on this occasion.

W. H. Black, esq. delivered an elaborate lecture on the public records of Chester, wholly extemporaneous, and lasting two hours and a half, for an abstract of which, see pp. 187-195, *ante*.

This was followed by some observations on the Palatinate Honours in Ireland, by sir W. Betham, V.P., see pp. 195-201, *ante*.

After these discourses, the members of the Congress devoted themselves to an examination of the antiquities of Chester, and at five o'clock a party exceeding a hundred in number assembled at the residence of the mayor, on the invitation of sir Edward and lady Walker, and partook of an elegant déjeuner à la fourchette in a spacious pavilion erected in the pleasure grounds for the occasion, and decorated with admirable taste and elegance. Among the guests were the principal members of the Association, the bishop, dean, and clergy, many of the aristocracy of the county, and several of the citizens of Chester, who had taken an active interest in the proceedings of the local committee for the Congress.

EVENING MEETING,—Eight o'clock.

The proceedings commenced by an address from T. J. Pettigrew, esq., Vice-President. It is my painful duty (he said) to communicate to you the information that our noble president, through the dangerous illness of a dear and very near relative, was obliged this morning to leave immediately Chester for London. I am acquainted with the individual afflicted, with the circumstances under which his affliction has arisen, and of its hopeless character at present. Nothing indeed short of that would have induced our President, Lord Albert Conyngham, from being present with us on this occasion. He has desired me to express his deep regret at his unavoidable absence, in which I am sure you will heartily sympathize; but the dean of Chester has kindly undertaken to perform the duties of chairman this evening, and is specially qualified to preside over the subjects which are set down on the paper for consideration—the history and architecture of Chester cathedral. Every one present, I am sure, would feel dissatisfied to have a cathedral without a dean; and the kindness and urbanity of the rev. Dr. Anson will gladden your hearts that he has so cheerfully consented to accommodate us.

The worthy dean took the chair, and immediately called upon Mr. Ashpitel to deliver his address on Chester cathedral, see pp. 177-186 *ante*.

The address concluded with a request that the Association would meet at the cathedral at nine o'clock the next morning, to inspect the architecture.

The rev. J. Collingwood Bruce then delivered a lecture on the remains of "the Roman wall between the Tyne and the Solway," see pp. 201-206, *ante*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1.

At nine o'clock this morning, Mr. Ashpitel and Mr. Baily went over Chester Cathedral with the members of the Association and a large party of ladies and gentlemen attending the Congress, for the purpose of describing and illustrating more fully the lecture of the preceding evening, and Divine service was afterwards celebrated in the Cathedral. After service the members of the Congress proceeded on their first excursion for Conway, calling on the way at Flint, where the party inspected its ancient Castle. They were cordially welcomed by the Vicar, the rev. T. B. Ll. Browne, and a deputation from the inhabitants.

The Vicar thus addressed the assembled ladies and gentlemen,—I have been deputed by several of my parishioners to bid you a most hearty welcome to the town of Flint, and to assure you that they shall always be happy to cooperate with the Archaeological Association in any research that may tend to elucidate the early history of this ancient town and the

vicinity. A brief report of the most interesting topics connected with the neighbourhood has been drawn up by Mr. Ronaldson for presentation to the President. I am also requested to call your attention to the neglected state of this venerable castle, which we wish to protect from further mutilation. Its present appearance is calculated to awaken feelings of gratitude to Almighty God that civil war and rebellion have passed away in this island; and we would also refer with pride to these deserted towers and dismantled walls as monuments of the loyalty of Welshmen to their Sovereign, and attachment to *their own prince*, in whose veins flows the blood of Owain Tudor.

At the close of his speech, the vicar presented the following paper to Mr. Pettigrew, vice-president, acting in the absence of Lord A. D. Conyngnam, which was read aloud by Mr. Pettigrew:

HISTORY OF FLINT.—It being considered by the inhabitants of Flint that a few brief particulars of the history, etc. of this ancient borough would be interesting to the society, the following epitome has been drawn up:—

There are no records or tradition that any British town existed on the present site of Flint prior to the invasion of the Romans; the latter it is supposed formed a fortress here, a supposition rendered highly probable from the circumstance that the ancient town of Flint was formed of a square surrounded by a deep ditch; the remains of the greater part of the latter can be distinctly traced to the present day. The choice of Flint as an encampment has most probably been two-fold, first as a favourable point for enabling them the better to make incursions into the mountain fastnesses in the neighbourhood, into which the natives would naturally retreat, and secondly in order to secure the mineral treasures of the district. To these another reason may probably be added, viz. that of its favourable situation for obtaining supplies, whether as derived from the fruitful country which surrounds it, or the facility of obtaining the same by means of the noble estuary of the Dee.

That Flint was very early the seat of considerable metallurgical operations is rendered evident from the fact of numerous Roman and other coins being found at places the British names of which are indicative of such operations having been carried on there; but in order to set all doubts at rest on this point, it may be mentioned, that at “*Pentre ffwrn dân*”, or the hamlet of the fiery furnace, a furnace bottom was found; and numerous coins, according to Pennant, of the emperors Nero and Vespasian have been found there; a copper coin was recently found at this spot, and which is this day exhibited; it is supposed to be one of the emperor Nero’s; it has been much defaced in consequence of having been placed in a fire; at “*Gwaith y Coed*”, or the Work in the Wood, were found several furnace bottoms, together with a perfect tin containing litharge; there were also

found several test bottoms composed of bone earth, precisely the same as those, and at the present day these two last facts prove that the mode of separating silver by oxidizing the baser metal was practised at a period of great antiquity. Where the present Flint Lead and Alkali Works are built, several Roman bricks and tiles were found, on sinking the foundations for some of the new buildings erected by the Messrs. Roskells and Co.; these were the more remarkable, as being composed of a light yellow clay, which cannot be found in the neighbourhood; leaden pipes were also found of a very ancient construction, being soldered, not drawn. Salt works previously existed on this spot, called the "Gwaith Halen Salt Works": a portion of the present lead works has been built between two and three centuries.

With respect to the derivation of the name of Flint, Pennant states "that he cannot assign any derivation of the word, as our country is totally destitute of the fossil, usually so called"; in this, however, the celebrated tourist and antiquary is mistaken, that mineral being found in great abundance, particularly in many of the lead mines, and is technically termed chert.

It is highly probable that the term Flint Glass was derived from the fact of its being first manufactured at Flint, as a glass-works formerly existed near where the present town hall stands, and great quantities of fragments of melting pots and glass were found in sinking the foundation of the gateway at Mr. Haywood's a few years ago: as the mineral flint is a compound part of all kinds of glass, there is no reason to suppose that this term should be applied solely as indicative of that description which is manufactured by the aid of lead, whilst on the other hand it is highly probable that the first locality for that branch of the glass manufacture should be at a spot where the lead required for its formation could be obtained in abundance, particularly as in addition to the raw materials, the vicinity of Flint has abounded in ancient times with fuel, whether that was derived from forests or mines.

Pennant states "that this place also seems to me to have been the same with what was termed *Colsul* or Coleshill; I can find no other site for the chapel of *Colsul* granted by David ap Lleywellyn to the Abbey of Basingwick"; in Domesday book it is called *Colesilt*; the ancient church which formerly stood on the site of the present building, was in part composed of the remains of a former ecclesiastical edifice, a stone carving exhibited this day having been used, and in making the walls of the edifice lately pulled down.

"Amongst the places interesting to the antiquary in the vicinity of Flint, is Moel y Gâer, or the hill of the fortress, and supposed to have been the outpost of the *Ordovices*, in order to defend their country against the Roman invaders? it lies on the summit of a hill, and is surrounded by

a great foss and dyke of a circular form, with an entrance and a small artificial mount within the precincts, a tribunal *capititium*, from whence the ancient heroes might deliver their *araith* or *allocutio* to animate their followers against the invading strangers."

A chain of pharos or watch towers formerly existed over the Clwydian range of hills, for the purpose of alarming the country on the advance of the enemy. The remains of two are to be seen in the vicinity of Flint. Within sight of the castle is Coleshill, where Owen Gwynedd met Henry II in battle, when the latter was defeated. Different fields are known to the present day under the names respectively of the field of the Standard and the Wounded.

The castle is supposed to have been erected by Edward I, and is celebrated as being the place where the first step was taken toward the dethronement of the unfortunate monarch, Richard II.

Several places in the vicinity of Flint indicate, by their English names, that they were formerly places where operations were carried on connected with the lead trade, such as Lead Brook, etc., these places being called Ledebroke in a charter of Edward III.

An ancient pig of lead was found yesterday at the outside of the castle walls, and is supposed to have been one of those procured for the purpose of fastening the iron clamps which bind the foundation stones, and is consequently of a date coeval with the castle: it is supposed to have been cast in a rude clay mould, the impression of the moulder's finger marks being to be seen on the lower part. It is a very rude casting as compared with the fine sharp castings of the Romans, of a much more ancient date, and indicates the decay of the arts subsequent to the withdrawal of those celebrated conquerors from the island of Britain.

In concluding this report, drawn up by the inhabitants, from the most authentic sources which they could procure, they respectfully request that the British Archæological Association will aid them by their influence in procuring from the parties to whom the custody of the castle is entrusted, an assurance that this venerable ruin shall at least be protected from further mutilation and abuse.

Mr. Pettigrew assured the vicar that the attention of the Association should be given to this latter suggestion: and after a necessarily hurried examination of the ruins and the curiosities therein exhibited, the tourists resumed their journey.

It was not the least interesting part on this occasion to perceive the anxiety of the inhabitants of Flint, who had brought forward and arranged within the ruins of the castle various objects of antiquity possessed by them, several of which had at different times been extracted from that spot; among these were coins submitted by Mr. Wm. Conway Jones, of Flint, asserted to have been dug up in or near the castle:—A large brass coin of Antoni-

nus Pius, much corroded. On the *reverse*, a temple of eight columns, in which are two sedent figures, s.c.—A middle brass coin of Constantine, much rubbed; *reverse*, GENIO. POP. ROM., genius before an altar sacrificing; in the exergue, PLC.—Small brass coins: 1. *obverse*, laureated head without epigraphie; *reverse*, CONSTANTINVS. AVG.—S.M.P.S.—. 2. *obverse*, FL. IVL. CONSTANTINVS. NOB. C.; *reverse*, GLORIA. EXERCITVS., two soldiers; between them, a standard. 3. The *reverse* as the last, except that there are two standards; in the exergue, PLC. 4. VRBS. ROMA., a galeated female head; *reverse*, the wolf and twins. 5. CONSTANTINOPOLIS., a galeated female head; *reverse*, a winged female figure with spear and shield. 6. A penny of Edward I, struck at London.

Mr. Robert Evans also exhibited a Spanish piece in gold of the seventeenth century, much clipped.

The party then proceeded to Conway, where the ruins were inspected; and Mr. Hicklin, of Chester, read an interesting paper on "CONWAY CASTLE".

He commenced by observing, in the words of an accomplished tourist:—It is not merely the curious sight-seeing propensity, that faculty so rife in all travellers, that is to be gratified in the examination of Conway castle. There is the rich and comprehensive faculty of mental reflection to be brought into exercise upon such an interesting object; there is the philosophy of history traced in deep lines upon its mouldering ruins. This castle was reared at the distant era of the Crusades. Its peculiar Moorish architecture attests, that its type belongs to eastern lands; and we know that its erection followed close upon the return of its founder, who had led the hosts of England from their homes to essay the recovery of the holy sepulchre from the hand of the Saracen, in that strange war of mingled superstition and religious enthusiasm. Its history spreads over a series of events, and a space of time that comprehends the most important facts which belong to European society, and includes those changes in the condition of the human family which reach from a state of abject slavery and social barbarism to that of personal freedom and national refinement. The transition state had been long and cruel; but to look upon these mysterious ruins in a suitable state of mind, is to read the page of history at a glance. In nature (says Mr. Roscoe, describing his visit), all things continued as from the beginning; but a momentous change had passed over this work of man's device. High over head shone the polar star in its pristine brilliancy. The planet Mars, was completing in radiant beauty his transit, as when, at the creation, he rolled upon his sphere, amidst the song of the morning stars; the mighty ocean was setting in with his murmuring tide, just the same as when at first he received that law which his dark waters have never since ceased to obey. All these features of nature remained perfect and unaltered, but the hands that had

wrought the strong masonry of that fabric ; the chivalric array that had passed and re-passed those massy gates, " clad in burning arms " ; the war-like bands that had thronged those broad battlements in the day of conflict ; the noisy burghers that had raised tumults in the city when their civil rights were restricted, or their purses mulcted by feudal despotism or regal extravagance, had all " passed away to be no more seen."

And in the same spirit a modern poet has the following reference to an ancient ruin—in an imaginary conversation between a sage and two spectators ; the one of whom is a common-place gazer, and the other an intelligent observer :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| <i>" Sage.</i> | What seest thou ? |
| <i>First Spectator.</i> | A pile decayed,
Bricks in cunning fashion laid,
Ruined buttress, moss-clad stone,
Arch with ivy overgrown,
Stairs round which the lichens creep—
The whole a desolated heap ! |
| <i>Sage.</i> | What seest thou ? |
| <i>Second Spect.</i> | Memorial of olden time,
Telling of the feudal prime
And the glorious pageantry
Waking heart and kindling eye,
And the deep and solemn lore
Learned by hearts that beat no more,
Vows of faith and high emprise,
Knightly valour, love-lit eyes ;
Woman's whisper, trumpet's breath,
Noble daring, valiant death ;—
More than history <i>can</i> give
With these ruined towers doth live ! |
| <i>The Sage.</i> | Thus it is that vacant air,
MIND informs with visions fair." |

After some suggestive observations in illustration of this position, Mr. Hicklin proceeded to remark, that the speculations of the antiquary, and the records of our old chroniclers, supply us with much interesting information respecting that early period, which stretches so far back into the mist of ages, that the search for truth " craves wary walking". It is abundantly clear, however, both from published documents and existing remains, that the locality in which we were now assembled had been remarkable for many transactions of importance during the possession of this country by those ancient masters of the world, the Romans ; the wars of the Saxons ; the incursions of the Danes ; and the disturbed reigns of the native princes, sovereigns of the principality. Our business, however, on the present occasion, was more especially with the history of that castle, amidst whose majestic ruins we were now assembled.

In his work on *Architectural Antiquities*, Mr. Britton remarks, that "under the Edwards, some considerable changes were introduced in architecture; and the first monarch of that name certainly cultivated the arts and the elegancies of life, as may be fairly inferred from the crosses and ecclesiastical structures erected by his commands." "At length," says Mr. King, in vol. vi of the *Archæologia*, "came the grand and noble piles of Edward I, manifestly derived from the opportunity of seeing, during the Crusades, the various refinements and improvements in foreign countries; when at length the idea of the castle was nearly swallowed up in that of the palace. Edward III completed the idea of the palace, and that of the mere castle began to be lost."

Having resolved to complete the subjugation of Wales to the English crown, Edward I was naturally anxious to strengthen his power in those places of security where he could best support his authority, by curbing the pride of the barons, who might attempt to thwart his schemes, and by suppressing the revolts of his discontented subjects. Independently of the romantic and picturesque scenery by which the rock of Conway is surrounded, its situation afforded a most advantageous post from which its defenders might observe the slightest indication of any hostile movement; the passes might easily be rendered perfectly inaccessible; and unless treachery was in the garrison, the fortress might be considered impregnable before the use of artillery. We may readily conceive the burning feelings of vexation and despair, with which the friends of Welsh independence would contemplate the building of this towering fabric of English pomp and power; from whose battlements the meteor flag of England would then seem to them as an odious trophy of triumphant oppression; and this strong feeling of national resentment would derive increased bitterness from the recent slaughter of their intrepid chieftain Llywellyn, whose head the victorious king had received as a welcome gift in the abbey of Conway; as well as from the fact, that, in distrust of the holy fathers of that monastery, which had been founded by an ancestor of the slain prince, Edward had given orders for their removal to a new foundation at Maenan, near Llanrwst. The castle of Conway was completed in 1284, under the personal inspection and direction of king Edward, and Henry de Elreton, the builder of Carnarvon castle, was the architect employed.

After an apology for his lack of architectural knowledge, Mr. Hicklin proceeded to describe the castle. Its form is oblong, and it is erected on a high rock at one corner of the triangle which encloses the town. One side is bounded by the river, another by a creek which is full of water at every tide, and into which the river Gyffin flows; the other two sides are within the town walls. On the outside, eight massive and enormous towers, forty feet in diameter, project; four on each side; and there was a winding staircase to the summit in a smaller tower contained in each.

which in the four nearest the river issue out to the height of several feet, and form an exceedingly beautiful addition. The walls and towers are embattled and vary from twelve to fifteen feet in thickness. The principal entrance was from the town at the west end by a drawbridge over a very deep moat; this leads by the ascent of a few steps to a spacious terrace, protected by five small towers, and intervening walls; thence through a gateway, defended by a porteullis, to the larger court. This contains on the south side the noble hall, which is one hundred and thirty feet long, thirty-two feet wide, and of a proportionate height, about thirty feet; out of this was partitioned off, at the east end, a chapel with a large window. The roof was supported by eight fine Gothic arches, four of which still remain; one fell about forty-four years ago; it was warmed by a great fire-place at one end, and two others, one on each side; there are six windows to the country, and three larger ones to the court; underneath were the spacious vaults which contained the ammunition for the use of the garrison; and also the cellars for provisions. At the east end of this court is the reservoir, fifteen feet in diameter, and twenty feet deep; the water which supplied it is traditionally reported to have been conveyed in pipes from a well above Ty gwyn. It has been said that portions of pipes have been met with, when ploughing fields in that neighbourhood, and tradition also records that the enemy, by discovering these pipes, at one time forced the garrison to surrender; this reservoir has two apertures on the south side by which the water was admitted, and opposite, there is now to be seen a stone pipe which conveyed the water into the moat, when it rose too high. The entrance into the inner court is by a passage through a strong wall, ten feet and a half in thickness, which on the outside has a sentinel's lodge, who could see through a loop-hole every one coming from the chief entrance. On the right in this court is one of the state rooms, twenty-nine feet by twenty-two feet; a beautiful arch which supported the roof remains perfect, a second has long ago been destroyed; the windows look into the court. Between this room and *twr y brenin*, or the King's tower, was the king's chamber, which communicated with that of the queen on the opposite side; the north tower is called *twr y frenines*, the Queen's tower; and the room on the first story contains a recess taken out of the wall, which is the only place with any appearance of ornament in the castle; it is formed by seven pointed and groined arches uniting with each other at the roof, and under them are more arches, with a basement all round. This recess, which with the adjoining room was the queen's private chapel, contained the altar table, and on both sides are small apertures communicating with two apartments. That such was the use of this place is corroborated by the circumstance, that this is the only room in any of the towers above the ground floor, which does not contain a fire-place. The diameter of

the inside of the towers is about eighteen feet ; these consist generally of two stories, with the ground floor, which was chiefly used for keeping stores. The King's tower has a strong room below, which was accessible only by a trap-door ; but the keep, or *twr y carcharorion*, is the second on the south side, adjoining the hall, from which there is a passage through it to the top of the walls ; on the east side there is another terrace, protected by three towers and walls, where there was a second entrance to the castle ; this was from the river, by ascending a steep rock, where once had been a narrow flight of winding stairs, protected by a wall, with a small covered hanging tower, which went a considerable way into the river, and had another round-tower at its extremity to prevent the approach of an enemy at ebb tide ; the portion in the river had been for a long period destroyed, but the narrow wall with the hanging tower, as far as the terrace, was taken down, when making the approach to the bridge. The next tower to the King's, *twr darn*, or the broken tower, presents a very picturesque ruin ; the avarice, it is said, of some of the inhabitants led them to excavate the rock at its base, which occasioned a vast fragment of the tower to fall ; the upper half remains perfect, suspended at a great height, and projecting nearly thirty feet over the walls below. (Mr. Hicklin indicated, in passing, the position of the parts described, and controverted the opinion of Mr. Pennant, who supposed the royal chapel to have been a boudoir.) The walls which surround the town were built the same time as the castle, and are nearly triangular ; a form evidently prescribed by the situation ; the walls which remain almost entire are very lofty and embattled : in the circuit of about a mile and a quarter there are twenty-one strong towers, rising considerably above the walls, besides three entrances to the town, with two stronger towers to each. The base of the triangle runs along the river, and in it are seven towers, with a gateway, called *Porth isar*, or the lower gate ; between this and the castle, there is also a portal in the wall, called *Porth bach*, but without towers ; from the northern extremity of the base, a curtain, with battlements on each side, runs nearly seventy yards into the river, which had at its extremity a large tower, long since destroyed, but the ruins are visible. This corresponded with a similar tower under the castle : the gateway through the curtain is called *Porth yr aden*. A second entrance to the town was from the country side, nearly opposite to *Porth isar* ; it is called *Porth uchar*, or the upper gate, and it was furnished with a drawbridge ; the third is on the south side, and led to the *velin heli*, or salt-water mill : it is called *Porth y velin*, or the gate of the mill. Except on the river side the whole town was surrounded by a deep and wide moat. One of the towers on the south has a wall built on the town side, and contained some spacious apartments : it is called *Twr Llywelyn*.

Edward made Conway a strong military station, and granted the town

a charter as a free borough, securing to it considerable privileges: a condition being annexed, "that *the Jews* dwell not at any time in the same borough." In 1290, the Welsh were again in arms against the authority of Edward, under the leadership of Madoc, a son of prince Llywellyn.

To defray the expenses of a war against France, Edward levied subsidies upon his newly-conquered subjects of Wales, who rose in rebellion, hanged Roger de Pulesdon, who had been appointed to collect the tax, and routed the English troops. Alarmed at these hostile indications, the king marched into North Wales to vindicate his sovereignty. Having reached the Conway, he crossed that estuary with his guards, and retiring into the castle, waited for the remainder of his army to follow. In his passage, he lost many of his baggage and store-wagons, which had been intercepted by the Welsh, who poured down in great force from the mountains and invested the castle. A sudden rise in the river at the same time prevented his troops from crossing, and thus beleaguered, the royal garrison was reduced to such straits, that the monarch, in common with his soldiers, was obliged to eat salted meat, with the coarse bread found in the castle, and to use water mixed with honey as his drink. At the last extremity, however, the river suddenly subsided, his troops were enabled to cross to his relief, the Welsh raised the siege, and ultimately dispersed among the mountains of Snowdon. The festival of Christmas was afterwards enjoyed at Conway castle, without let or hindrance, by the warrior king, his queen, and a brilliant court. And those were rare old times for feasting. From the first introduction of Christianity, the period of the Nativity seems to have been kept as a season of festival, and its observance required as a matter of state. The series of high festivities established by the Anglo-Saxon kings, appear to have been continued with yearly increasing splendour and multiplied ceremonies under the monarchs of the Norman race. From the court, the spirit of revelry descended, by all its thousand arteries, throughout the universal frame of society. The pomp and ceremonial of the royal observance were imitated in the splendid establishments of the more wealthy nobles, and were more faintly reflected from the diminished state of the petty baron. The revelries of the baronial castle found echoes in the hall of the old manor-house—and were again repeated in the tapestried chamber of the country magistrate, or from the sanded parlour of the village inn. Merriment was everywhere a matter of public concernment.

The revels of merry England are fast subsiding into silence, and her many customs wearing gradually away. That social change which has enlarged towns at the expense of the country—which thins the numbers of the yeomanry of England, and draws the estated gentleman from the shelter of his ancestral oaks, to live upon their produce in the haunts of dissipation, has been unfavourable to the existence of many of them which

delight in by-ways and sheltered places ; which had their appropriate homes in the old manor-house or the baronial hall. But they pass lingeringly away. There is something in the mind of man which attaches him to ancient superstitions, even for the sake of their antiquity, and endears to him old traditions, even because they are old. We cannot readily shake off our reverence for that which our fathers have revered so long, even where the causes in which that reverence originated are not very obvious or not very satisfactory. Right joyous festivals there have been amongst us, which England will be none the merrier—and kindly ones, propagating a feeling of brotherhood and benevolence, which she will be none the better, for losing.

In 1301, the first English prince of Wales, Edward of Carnarvon, held a court at Conway, where Eineon, bishop of Bangor, and David, abbot of Maenan, did homage, and on ascending the throne he granted certain privileges to the burgesses. In 1399, Conway was the scene of a memorable transaction, in the reign of the hapless monarch Richard II. This event has been described with considerable minuteness in an original manuscript, which is preserved in the Harleian collection, under the title of “An account of the treachery of the earl of Northumberland, and the taking of his majesty Richard II ; his progress from Conway to Rhuddlan, Flint, and Chester, by an eye-witness.” In this narrative, which is written in a sort of doggerel metre, then very common, the author, who was a French knight, personally attached to, and officially in attendance upon, king Richard, gives us statements of the manner in which the monarch received the disastrous news that England was in a state of revolt ; how his face turned pale thereat, his anxiety and distress, and his hurried return to Milford Haven. “But before he landed,” says the chronicler, “a great army, which had been gathered in Wales for his service, was either disbanded, or won over to Bolingbroke. In his great fear he disguised himself like a poor Franciscan friar, and set out at midnight from his host, attended by only a few persons,” of whom our Frenchman was one. He travelled hard all night, and reached Conway by break of day. There he learned that his enemies had reported him to be dead, and that well-nigh all was already lost. He uttered many pious ejaculations ; but he knew not what course to take. At length, he resolved to send the duke of Exeter and the earl of Surrey to tell Henry of Bolingbroke, that he was doing much amiss, but that he, the rightful king of England, would pardon him, and reinstate him in all his honours and lands, if he would but desist. Henry, who was at Chester, made Exeter and Surrey his prisoners. Upon receiving this intelligence, the king, who had “continued all sorrowful at Conway”, with his intimate friends “all sad and distressed”, went straight to Beaumaris. There was a strong castle there that could not have been taken in ten years, if it had only been victualled

and furnished with a sufficient and faithful garrison. But there were provisions in none of the king's castles in these parts, and there was fidelity and affection to him in no place whatsoever. Not being able to stay at Beaumaris, he went to Caernarvon castle, which he found totally unfurnished. "In all his castles to which he retired, there was no furniture, nor had he anything to lie down upon but straw. Really he lay in this manner for four or six nights, as, in truth, not a farthing's worth of victuals or of anything else was to be found in them. Certes, I dare not tell the great misery of the king."

Richard returned to Conway, where he greatly bewailed his young absent wife, who, by this time, was in the hands of the Bolingbroke party. He also bewailed that he was by day and by night in danger of bitter and certain death. While he was lying at Conway doing nothing but bewailing his hard fate, the earl of Northumberland waited upon him from duke Henry, who prevailed upon him to put himself in his hands, and trust to the decisions of the English parliament, the earl, it is said, swearing upon the sacrament that no harm should befall him. Richard quitted Conway—where he certainly could not have stayed much longer—and soon found that he was a prisoner, for the earl of Northumberland had placed a numerous body of troops in ambuscade at one of the mountain-passes.

This pass, Mr. Hicklin explained, was at Penmaen Rhos, about ten miles from Conway, not far from the last tunnel through which the railway train had passed in bringing the party that morning. The journey of Richard to Flint, and his mental sufferings there, were then described in the quaint language of the old writer, who says that "no creature in this mortal world, let him be who he would, Jew or Saracen, could have beheld the king and his good friends, the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, sir Stephen Scroope, and another knight named Ferriby, without being heartily sorry for them." Mr. Hicklin then drew attention to the following observations of the chronicler as illustrative of the regard then paid to "prophetic" intimations. "The earl of Salisbury told me, as we rode to Chester, that Merlin and Bede had, from the time in which they lived, prophesied of the taking and ruin of the king, and that if I were in his castle he should shew it me in form and manner as I had seen it come to pass, saying thus:—

" 'There shall be a king in Albion who shall reign for the space of twenty or two-and-twenty years in great honour and in great power, and shall be allied and united with those of Gaul; which king shall be undone in the parts of the north in a triangular place.' Thus the knight told me it was written in a book belonging to him. The triangular place he applied to the town of Conway, and for this he had a very good reason; for I can assure you that it is in a triangle, as though it had been so laid down by a true and exact measurement. In the said town of Conway was

the king sufficiently undone : for the earl of Northumberland drew him forth, as you have already heard, by the treaty which he made with him, and from that time he had no power. Thus the knight held this prophecy to be true, and attached thereunto great faith and credit : for such is the nature of them in their country, that they very thoroughly believe in prophecies, phantoms, and witchcraft, and have recourse to them right willingly."

The removal of the king from Flint is thus described :—" Thus, as you have heard, came duke Henry to the castle, and spake unto the king, to the bishop of Carlisle, and the two knights, sir Stephen Scroope and Ferriby ; howbeit unto the earl of Salisbury he spake not at all, but sent word to him by a knight in this manner : ' Earl of Salisbury, be assured that no more than you deigned to speak to my lord the duke of Lancaster, when he and you were in Paris at Christmas last passed, will he speak unto you.' Then was the earl much abashed, and had great fear and dread at heart, for he saw plainly that the duke mortally hated him. The said duke Henry called aloud with a stern and savage voice, ' Bring out the king's horses ' ; and then they brought him two little horses that were not worth forty francs : the king mounted one, and the earl of Salisbury the other. Every one got on horseback, and we set out from the said castle of Flint about two hours after mid-day.

" In form and manner as you have heard, did duke Henry take king Richard, his lord ; and he brought him with great joy and satisfaction to Chester, which he had quitted in the morning. And know, that with great difficulty could the thunder of heaven have been heard for the loud bruit and sound of their instruments, horns, buisines, and trumpets, inso-much that they made all the sea-shore resound with them. Thus the duke entered the city of Chester, to whom the common people paid great reverence, praising our lord, and shouting after their king, as it were in mockery."

In referring to these transactions, Mr. Hicklin took occasion to interperse his remarks with some quotations from Shakespeare's tragedy of *King Richard the Second* ; illustrative of the fine touches of nature, and the faithful pictures of history which distinguish the dramas of that wonderful genius.

During the civil wars of the Roses between the houses of York and Lancaster, Conway castle was the scene of much contention. It is recorded that the friends of one party gained possession of it, while the influential family of Gryffyth Goch, and many equally powerful in the neighbourhood, were in arms for the other. It happened that his son Rhys, who had gone either out of curiosity, or more probably for the purpose of examining the strength of the place, was standing at Tal y sarn, on the opposite side of the river, when he was slain by an arrow discharged from the castle by

Llywelyn of Nannau. As the distance is considerably more than half a mile, this is probably one of the longest shots on record! A few nights after, Robin ab Gryffyth Goch o'r Graianllyn, and his brother Hywel, with their followers, crossed the river, to avenge the death of their brother Rhys; they took the castle by escalade, and beheaded the captain. Sir John Wynne, in his history of the Gwydir family, observes, that the whole country around was laid waste by the partisans of the two factions; and utterly desolated by lord Herbert, earl of Pembroke. In 1466, Thomas ab Robin, of Cochwillan, was beheaded, near the castle, by his lordship's order, on account of his staunch adherence to the Lancastrians; and his wife is reported to have carried away his head in her apron.

The town of Aberconwy had obtained great privileges from Edward I, in order that he might have a body of Englishmen, besides the garrisons of his castles, to maintain his power in Wales; all that held office in his towns of Aberconwy, Caernarvon, and Beaumaris, were exclusively English. In course of time, however, some Welshmen crept into office, which the English burgesses looked upon as an infringement of their rights, considering Wales as a foreign country subjected to the English, but the inhabitants by no means entitled to have any share of the advantages of their own land. They accordingly presented a memorial to Henry VII and his parliament; it is a curious and interesting document, and shows the jealous feelings entertained by the two nations towards each other.

Mr. Hicklin quoted some curious passages to the effect just stated; and made a pointed reference to the present state of feeling in this particular, and the desirableness of a close amity on "both sides of the Dee".

In 1607 the plague committed dreadful ravages in Conway, where it broke out within three weeks after its appearance in London. Numbers of dead bodies have frequently been found in the streets when excavating sewers. In the troublesome days of the great rebellion, Conway was naturally regarded as a military station of considerable importance; and the most remarkable character who then directed its destinies was the celebrated archbishop Williams, who was born at Conway, a prelate who seems to have combined the various and generally conflicting qualities of priest, lawyer, and soldier. The epitaph on this extraordinary man, who was buried at Llandegai church, near to Penrhyn park, is to the following effect:—"Sojourner, read, and in these few words, particularly observe that which you would not expect to find in this obscure chapel. Here lies buried John Williams, the most renowned of prelates, descended by his father's lineage from the Williamses of Cochwillan, and by his mother's from the Griffithses of Penrhyn, whose great parts and eminence in all kinds of learning raised him first to the deanery of Sarum, and afterwards advanced him to that of Westminster by the favour of king James. At one and the same time he was the most intimate favourite of and privy councillor to that

great king, lord keeper of the great seal of England, and bishop of the see of Lincoln, whom Charles I honoured with the archiepiscopal mitre of York. He was thoroughly versed in all sciences,—a treasury of nine languages; the very soul of pure and undefiled theology; an oracle of political tact; the very acmé and ornament of wisdom, whether sacred, canonieal, civil, or municipal. His conversation was engagingly sweet,—his memory more tenacious than human; a repository of all species of history; expended in magnificent edifices the sum of £20,000; an exemplary pattern of liberality, munificence, generosity, hospitality, and compassion for the poor. In those lamentable times which followed, being worn out with the things which he saw and heard, when, by reason of the fury of the rebels, he could no longer serve his king nor his country, having lived sixty-eight years, on the 25th of March, which was his birthday, with strong faith in Christ, and stedfast allegiance to his king, he most devotedly resigned his soul to God, dying of a quinsy. It matters little that so small a monument, placed in this obscure spot, preserves the memory of so great a man, since years and ages shall never cease to celebrate his virtues. He died 25th of March, A.D. 1650.

“Pass on, traveller, it is enough, your curiosity is gratified.”

Being superseded by prince Rupert in the command of North Wales, the archbishop, on the arrival of the republican army from Chester, under general Mytton, assisted that officer in reducing the town, and was wounded in the adventure. The town was taken by Cromwell's soldiers on August 15th, 1646, and their victory was signalized by the slaughter of all the Irish residents, who were barbarously tied back to back and thrown into the river. The castle surrendered on the 10th of November following; and the warlike prelate, having received a pardon from the parliament, retired to the tranquil shades of Gloddaeth.

At the restoration of Charles II, the castle was granted to the earl of Conway, who was altogether unworthy of such a possession; for in the spirit of a pedlar, rather than a patrician, he ordered his agent to dismantle this glorious structure, by removing the timber, iron, and lead, to be shipped to Ireland, ostensibly for his majesty's, but in reality for his own use. With a most commendable determination, Colonel Wynn, Mr. Thomas Bulkeley, and several of the leading gentry of the country, attempted to oppose this destructive design, but in vain. The selfish spoiler did his work; but a suitable fate attended this desecration of one of the noblest works of antiquity. Lord Conway was not merely prejudiced, as he complains, by the loss of an opportune season for shipping, but by the loss of the property itself, for the vessels which contained the materials for Ireland were wrecked on the voyage.—The castle is at present held from the crown by the dowager lady Erskine, who takes most commendable care for its preservation.

Mr. Hicklin then referred to Conway as the scene of several subjects in romantic literature, alluding more particularly to "The Castle Spectre", and Gray's fine lyric ode of "The Bard". Mr. Hicklin closed with an animated peroration on the pursuits of archaeology in the examination of "things old", and contrasted the short-lived glory of the most durable monuments of man's device with the older grandeur of the "eternal hills", and the more impressive majesty of the wondrous works of the Almighty Architect of the Universe.

Two views of Flint and Conway castles, as they appeared during the days of their strength, were exhibited to illustrate the lecture: they were painted for the purpose by Mr. S. Brown, heraldic artist of Chester.

Mr. Hicklin then conducted a large party round the ruins, Mr. Baily, F.S.A., accompanying him, and explaining their architectural peculiarities. The church, the mansion of Plas Mawr, and other objects of interest were also visited.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 2.

This day was devoted to the excursion to Liverpool. Quitting Chester by a special train, the members of the Association, and a large number of visitors, were met by the Council and officers of the Historic Society of Cheshire and Lancashire, and conducted on board the "Wirral" steamboat, liberally placed at the disposal of the Society by the Ferry Committee of the Birkenhead Commissioners. The boat proceeded up the Cheshire shore as far as Eastham, and thence returned down the Lancashire side, giving to the Association an excellent view of the long line of docks. Arrived at the pier-head, carriages were in waiting to convey the parties either to Sefton or Speke-hall. The party visiting the former included Mr. Planché, Mr. S. R. Solly, Mr. Clarke, and several others, under the guidance of the rev. Doctor Hume, and Mr. Robinson, of the Historic Society. They proceeded to Sefton church, where they were most politely received by the rector, the rev. R. Rothwell, and examined with great interest the ancient monuments and curious carvings in that beautiful edifice. A rubbing was taken of the celebrated Molyneux brass, for the purpose of illustrating Mr. Green Waller's paper on these subjects. A small neuter-shaped shield over the principal entrance had long been supposed to bear the date 1110 upon it, and the error had actually been printed in one of the local guide-books, when, in fact, it was no date at all, but the sacred monogram, I.H.C. The church has been so elaborately described and illustrated in the splendid work privately printed under the patronage of lord Sefton, that it is unnecessary to enter into detail respecting it. The party afterwards drove round to Ince-hall, which had been kindly thrown open by Thomas Weld Blundell, esq. The magnificent

collection of marbles were commented upon by Joseph Brooks Yates, esq., F.S.A.¹

Between seventy and eighty formed the party to the ancient and beautiful manorial hall at Speke. The party were received in the drawing-room (a beautiful panelled room, with a most elaborately carved chimney-piece), which, after long neglect, has recently been excellently restored by the occupier of the mansion, Mr. Brereton. Having assembled, Mr. Pidgeon, one of the honorary secretaries of the Historic Society, read the following notice of the mansion and its former possessors, the family of Norris.

SPEKE HALL.—Among the varieties of the “stately homes of England”, few are more interesting than the moated, half-timbered houses, which form so remarkable a feature in the counties palatinate of Lancaster and Chester. Of these ancient and curious edifices, in some parts called “Post and Petrel”, from the French *poutreille*, a crossbeam, we have in Speke-hall a very perfect and curious example, and the visit of the Association to it will not, I hope, prove an uninteresting or unprofitable excursion.

I shall not detain those who are so conversant with ancient architecture by entering at any length into the history of the building. On a careful examination it will be found, that the mansion is the work of a lengthened period. Some of the carved wood-work in the garden-front appears of the time of Henry VII, while the lower portion of the edifice, as seen from the moat, is evidently of a period still earlier, and shews that the present superstructure is raised on the ancient foundations. Many dates remain on the building, tending to identify various portions; but one of the inscriptions (that over the principal entrance), has led to some confusion, as it relates not to the principal front of the mansion, but to the erection of the bridge over the moat, one of the latest additions to the building. The details of the carved-work are most interesting, and a rich and picturesque effect is obtained, especially in the garden front, by the disposition of the masses.

At the Conquest, a Saxon thane, Uctred, as we learn in Domesday, held Spec. Shortly after, Espeake and Oglahal, or Oglet, were held by Benedict de Gernoth, or Garnet, by the marriage of whose daughter Speke came into the family of Molyneux. The name of William de Molines occurs eighteenth on the roll of Battel abbey. Adam was son and heir of William's brother, Vivian de Molines, who obtained lands of Roger de Poitiers, and settled at Sefton, where, near the church, yet remains the moat, which surrounded the family seat.

¹ The reader is referred to two magnificent folio volumes, privately printed by the late Henry Blundell, esq., in 1809, for a description and illustration

of the sepulchral monuments, cinerary urns, gems, bronzes, prints, Greek inscriptions, fragments, etc., composing this fine collection.

A considerable Lancashire family, named Norris, had long held lands in Blackrod, Sutton, and other parts of the palatinate. It appears from the manuscript of sir William Norris, that a daughter of Roger de Gernct married Richard or Peter Molineux, of Little Crosby, and that she released the lands here, which were her dower, to Alan le Norres, who was the first person of that family who possessed any part of Speke, and from whom are descended the families of lord Norris, of Rycot, Oxfordshire, and the Berkshire Norrises, one of whom built the beautiful family seat at Bray, named Ockwells. The Rycot Norrises merged in the Lindsays, who claimed the barony.

The Norrises were all warriors, holding their estates by military service. Of their martial achievements, I shall only notice the presence of sir Edward Norris at Flodden-field, September 9, 1513, and of sir Wm. Norris at Edinburgh, 8th May, 1513, as involving a question of interest as to the mansion itself.

It has been said that the screen in the Hall was brought from Holyrood, after the battle of Flodden-field. Secombe says, "This valient and heroic gentleman, sir Edward Norris, who commanded a body of the army under general Stanley at Floddenfield, where he behaved with so much courage and good conduct that he was honoured by the king, his master, with the like congratulatory letter above mentioned for his good services, etc., in token whereof he brought from the deceased king of Scotis palace all or most of his princely library, many books of which are now at Speke, particularly four large folios, said to contain the records and laws of Scotland at that time, etc.; and he also brought from the said palace the wainscot of the king's hall, and put it up in his own hall at Speke, wherein are seen all the orders of architecture, as Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite, and round the top of it this inscription: "Slepe not till ye hathe considered how thou hast spent y^e day past. If thou have well done, thank God; if other ways repent ye.'" This statement, under varied forms, has been perpetuated in topographical books. Mr. W. R. Whatton, at the desire of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, investigated the subject. His opinion is that it did not come at all from Holyrood, but was executed by Edward Norris in 1598. That this or any other trophy from the kings of Scotland's palace was not taken after Floddenfield is certain, because that battle did not lead to the presence of the English army at Holyrood at all. The victory was so dearly bought that the Earl of Surrey, instead of invading Scotland, stopped at Berwick—put some troops in garrison, and disbanded the rest of his army. In the library of the Athenaeum, at Liverpool, are twelve or fourteen folio volumes of Scottish acts of Parliament, etc., with the following inscription at the beginning of each volume:—
"Md. y^t Edyn Borow wasse wone y^e eight daye of May in Ano xxxvi.
H. viij et ano Dni mccccxliij and y^t y^e boke called Bartolus sup prim



degesti veteris was gotty and brougth awaye by me Willm. Norres, of ye Speke K y^e xi daye of May forsaide and now ye boke of me y^e forsaide Willm. geve and by me left to remayne att Speke for an heir lownee. In witness hereof written with my none hand and subscribed my name—By me WILLM. NORRES, milit.” Baines assumes that this proves the fact of sir William having brought some curious pieces of wainscot from Holyrood to Speke, “which was re-erected by sir Edward Norris, to whom, on the authority of Secombe, this transfer of the relics has been generally attributed.” Here is confusion worse confounded. Sir William brings in 1543 some carvings, which are re-erected by his grandfather, the hero of Flodden.

The most recent account of Speke is the small notice in the prospectus of Nash's fourth volume of *Mansions*. Mr. Nash says, “he is inclined to think, that not only the panelling, but most of the carved woodwork, is of earlier date than 1598,” the date fixed by Whatton, and he notices the presence of something like the florid vigour of the Venetian carvers in wood in this screen.

Mr. W. J. Roberts, a member of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, who has most diligently collected information as to this interesting house, and the families who have been its possessors, has enabled me to throw some light, perhaps, on the subject. In a careful investigation which I made with him, we satisfied ourselves that this screen is no importation direct from Holyrood. Above the carved work, on a panelled surface beneath the roof, are two figures of angels, bearing shields, such as are placed in our churches at the foot of the principals of the wood roof. These, it is probable, may have been brought from Holyrood chapel, and in time it has come to be believed and stated, that the whole of the wainscot was obtained from the same source. As to the florid Venetian carving, our researches may be also able to throw light on the subject. Messrs. Bullock and Gandy (the cabinet-makers, of Liverpool), restored the screen, and the work was entrusted to Mr. Bridgens, the sculptor, known to anti-quaries by his valuable etchings of the carved work at Sefton church. The parts which exhibit the greatest freedom, are restorations in plaster coloured over. I may mention that Mr. Roberts is arranging his very valuable notes, and, as a history of a curious house, and a very ancient and important family, I hope he may be induced to give them to the public.

The Norrises retained Speke till Thomas, only son of Edward Norris, dying without issue, his cousin Mary succeeded to the property. This Mary, in 1736, married lord Sidney Beauclerk, fifth son of the first duke of St. Alban's. His grandson (son of the well-known Topham Beauclerk) transferred the property to the family of Watt, who at present own the property. The present occupier (Mr. Brereton, of Liverpool) well deserves, and I am sure will receive, the cordial thanks of the company for

the kindness with which he has thrown open the house to us, as he well merits the thanks of all friends of archaeology for the care he takes of so valuable an edifice.

Thence the party proceeded to view the exterior of the house, the details of which, as well as the general arrangement, afforded the greatest delight to the antiquaries assembled. The general impression seemed to be, on a careful examination of the mouldings and carvings, that whatsoever was done in the age of Elizabeth, much remains of an anterior date, possibly of the age of Henry VII.

On the return of the parties from the two excursions, St. George's Hall and other objects of interest were visited; after which, a party, consisting of nearly a hundred ladies and gentlemen, sat down to dinner in the Adelphi Hotel. The chair, made from the house in which Roscoe, the historian, was born, was taken by James Heywood, esq., M.P., F.R.S., one of the original members of the Historic Society, and Vice-President of the Association; and on his right sat Mr. Pettigrew, the principal guest, as representative of the President, on the occasion.

Upon proposing the toast of "Lord Albert Conyngham, President, and the other members of the British Archæological Association", the Chairman expressed his sincere regret at the unhappy circumstances which called for the absence of lord Albert, declared how happy he was to meet the Archæological Association in his native county, and hoped they would at some time fix upon a point in Lancashire for holding their congress, and he was convinced that they would not want for material. He concluded, by uniting the name of Mr. Pettigrew with the toast, in the absence of the President.

Mr. Pettigrew, after alluding to the fact, that he was the official representative of the President, returned thanks for himself and his fellow-members. He passed a high eulogium on the Historic Society, and the other societies in the county embracing the subjects of antiquity, for the handsome manner in which they had maintained the literary character and hospitality of the district that day, and expressed his firm belief, that the occurrence would form an era in the history of the Association. On no occasion had their congress-meeting been better attended than in Chester, and nowhere could they be better received than they were in Liverpool.

After various other toasts, the company adjourned to the Town-Hall, and were received by the mayor, J. Bramley-Moore, esq., and his lady. Those who had not seen the interior before, were struck with surprise and interest from the entrance. Some examined the encaustic tiles in the great hall; some admired the grand staircase, and others the various apartments. In the room which is known as "the small ball-room", an extempore museum had been erected, consisting of cases of rare antiquities, in general the first fruits of the Liverpool Historic Society. Among them were an interesting series of brass-rubbings, lent by Mr. Brent, of

the Customs; the most ancient seal of Liverpool, given by lord Lilford; the Hoylake antiquities, described by the rev. Dr. Hume; Roman and Saxon remains connected with the district, etc. The arrangement of these was entrusted to Mr. Mayer, the honorary curator of the Historic Society, whose exertions to secure the success of the visit to Liverpool, are worthy of all praise.

Nearly a thousand persons were present, and when assembled in the large ball-room, the mayor introduced to the audience Mr. Pettigrew, as the Vice-President of the Archaeological Association, and the representative of lord Albert Conyngham. Mr. Pettigrew explained the objects of the Association, acknowledged the cordiality with which his friends and himself had been received, and concluded by introducing the gentlemen appointed to read papers. In the absence of Mr. J. G. Waller, Mr. C. Roach Smith read his paper on Monumental Brasses (see pp. 256-265 *ante*).

After the reading of this paper, the mayor and mayoress, and the principal guests, retired to the supper-room, and on their re-appearance, Mr. Pettigrew introduced to the meeting Mr. F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., who read a paper on "Guild Processions and Observances".

Mr. Fairholt prefaced his remarks by observing that it was not his intention to enter into a dissertation on the origin or history of Guilds, a subject involving an amount of abstruse learning more fitted for the closet of the student than for public reading, but to narrate those ceremonial observances, curious usages, and public processions which marked their ancient state, and greatly attracted the attention of our sight-loving ancestors.

It was usual from a very early period for the trading companies of our great commercial cities to take the lead in welcoming the royal and noble personages of this and other countries when they made their public entries into these towns. It was expected that each company should attend in proper costume and official insignia on these occasions, or they were fined by the ruling powers. It was not usual with them thus to meet on such occasions alone, but many towns commemorated on great festivals particular facts in their own history. Such was the play of Hock Tuesday performed by the people of Coventry before queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, and which was supposed to commemorate the massacre of the Danes by the inhabitants of that city in 1002, and the procession of lady Godiva, which records the gift of certain municipal privileges to the same city.

These various trade-unions, for such the old Guilds were, originated in a necessity for self-protection in barbarous times; and they had so many privileges, that for a tradesman not to be a member of them was virtually to debar himself from the practice of his own business, or be continually fined. It became a law of each city that none but acknowledged members of such societies should be allowed to practise within its walls, and that all others

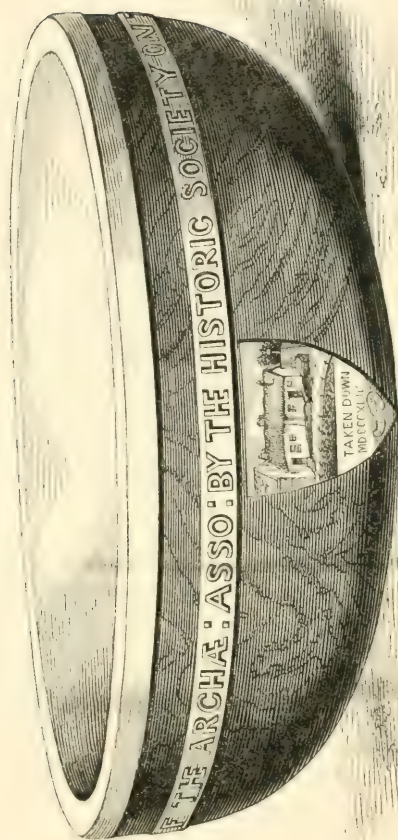
be amerced by the body for a permission to labour. They thus became powerful and wealthy, and had a great love for exhibiting themselves on all public occasions. In London they always rode forth to welcome the king. The earliest instance on record is that given by Matthew Paris, as taking place in 1236, on occasion of the passage of king Henry III, and Eleanor of Provence, his queen, when they were met by the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, three hundred in number, apparelled in livery of silk and riding on horseback, each of them carrying in their hands a gold or silver cup in token of privileges claimed by the city, for the mayor to officiate as chief butler at the coronations.

The earliest mention of shows peculiar to various trades is given in the account of Edward I's reception after his victory over the Scots in 1298, when the Fishmongers' Company exhibited four gilt sturgeons mounted on as many horses, four salmons of silver similarly displayed, and forty-six armed knights on horses "made like Lucres of the sea", and a man dressed as St. Magnus, accompanied with other mounted horsemen.

From this public display they proceeded to identify themselves with other means of amusing the people, and hence originated the performance, by these tradesmen, of sacred dramas, founded on Scripture history, but so ludicrously adapted to the feeling and ignorance of the times, as to be objectionable to modern taste. These plays, which appear to have been common to provincial towns, do not appear to have been exhibited by the London Guilds, owing to an alarm taken by the clergy, who themselves acted them on great festivals, and who petitioned Richard II to prevent others from doing so. For the maintenance of these plays a tax was levied on the companies generally, and even common land appropriated.

It was not only in shows that the old Guilds exhibited themselves, in the insecure times of antiquity; they marshalled themselves on Midsummer-eve, and acted as watch to the city. This ceremony was conducted by night with much pomp, and several pasteboard figures of giants were exhibited in the procession, besides morris-dancers, henchmen, and hired minstrels. These giants were exceedingly popular, as was also another character, exhibited by the Butchers' Company of Chester, and named, "the Devil in his Feathers". The dragon was an equal favourite, and shared a large amount of popular applause.

All this pageantry, Mr. Fairholt observed, was traceable to the Guild processions of continental towns, who exhibited such things with even greater splendour on popular occasions. The giant of Antwerp, the greatest trading city of the Low Countries, from which we obtained the model of our first exchange, was a noble figure designed by Rubens. Malines also had its giants, male and female, with their children, similar to the giants which at one time belonged to the ancient city of Chester. Brussels also possesses a similar family of giants. They are enormous



F. M. FAIRHOL T

Mazer Bowl presented by the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire to Lord ALBERT DENISON CONYNGHAM, M.P., K.C.H., F.S.A., &c., President of the British Archaeological Association, on the occasion of the Visit of the Association to Liverpool, August 2, 1810.

exerted, which has preserved our time-tried institutions intact amid the crash of surrounding anarchy.

After the reading of this Paper, the worshipful the mayor addressed the company and spoke as follows:—Ladies and gentlemen, a pleasure somewhat unexpected lies before me; as it is now my duty to present to Mr. Pettigrew, for Lord Albert Conyngham, this splendid bowl,¹ from our Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Its appropriateness as a souvenir of the pleasant visit of the Association to our town this day, cannot be doubted, when I inform you that it was made from the timber of the house in which Prince Rupert lodged in 1644. A relic of more than two centuries old is the gift of our local antiquaries; it witnessed the siege of Liverpool, and it is now present at a peaceful invasion. You will, therefore, Mr. Pettigrew, be kind enough to convey this to lord Albert, with our united regret for the circumstances which have prevented him from coming among us.

Mr. Pettigrew replied:—Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, it was only yesterday that I got a slight intimation of this additional manifestation of your kindness, so that I am almost unprepared to acknowledge it in fitting terms. Permit me to thank the Historic Society in lord Albert Conyngham's name, and also in my own, and to thank you all, ladies and gentlemen, for the hearty manner in which you sympathize in this presentation. I shall convey your very appropriate gift to lord Albert, and I am sure that his pride and gratitude will be not less than my own. And I shall now venture to do, what I am sure he would have done had he been present. You shall hear the first sentiment that I have to propose, in drinking the first wine that ever the cup contains. (Mr. Pettigrew here procured wine, poured out a draught before all, and seizing the cup in both hands, drank "Success to the good old town of Liverpool, and the trade thereof.")

"The following paper on the 'Chester Mystery Plays,' was then read by the rev. A. Hume, LL.D.:—

To the ordinary details of men and things, dramatic representations are related as a picture is to the letter-press,—they illustrate the text. Or they may be compared to the picture-writing of the ancient Mexicans, effective so far as they go, but in their very nature imperfect as a means of

¹ This is a "mazer dish", of polished oak, beautifully mounted in silver, and lined throughout the interior. An elegant silver band encircling the exterior, contained the following inscription in antique characters:—

"Given to lord Albert D. Conyngham, President of the Archæological Association, by the Historic Society, on the visit to Liverpool, August 2, 1849."

Two silver shields were placed on opposite sides. One of them contained

an accurate view of the ancient cottage at Everton, near the known toffee-house, "taken down 1844", beautifully engraved, and the other bore the following inscription:—

"Made from the house occupied by Prince Rupert, as his head-quarters, during the siege of Liverpool, 1644."

An engraving of this bowl will be given in the next Number of the Journal, through the kindness of J. Mayer, esq.

public or private instruction. In a wide sense, the literature which is dramatic is much more extensive than it is usually supposed to be. The historian, for example, becomes a dramatist for the time, when, instead of treating of his characters in the third person, he allows each to speak for himself. The novelist is a dramatist, as his volumes frequently consist merely of a groundwork of dialogue, inlaid with descriptions which might be equally well represented by moveable scenery. In all the varied affairs of life, too, we are inseparably connected with that which is dramatic. In the nursery, there is the doll or the hobby-horse in anticipation of mature years; by the fire-side, the old soldier varies his tale by shouldering his crutch to "show how fields were won;" and elsewhere, my uncle Toby stamps his foot, as he remarks with vehemence, that Le Fevre "shall march"—"to his regiment." Every one must feel that without that circumstance, whether recorded by Sterne or not, the idea of the benevolent old soldier would be imperfect.

Dramatic representations in this country have been said to owe their origin to the pilgrims from the holy land, or other sacred places; for the double purpose of instructing the people and securing sympathy for themselves. They said or sung, through the principal streets of large towns, long accounts of their journeyings. In these orations or canticles, they did not adhere rigidly to the facts, but drew more or less upon the imagination; and interwove a variety of incidents respecting Christ and his Apostles, which may or may not have happened. Their devout characters, their picturesque and flowing dresses, the solemn subjects of which they treated, and the troops of them that usually itinerated together, naturally drew the attention of our forefathers, simple artizans, and husbandmen. In process of time, a stage was erected for greater convenience: and at a still later period, the place of the pilgrims was supplied by the ordinary clergy. In that case, the subject was necessarily of a scriptural character throughout; as many of the performers had never seen the world much beyond the precincts of their own parishes. At a still later period, when the characters introduced became numerous, the assistance of lay actors was procured. At a period still subsequent, the clergy wrote the plays, and superintended the performances; but the actors were exclusively laymen. This was the case, for example, with the mysteries performed at Chester.

One of the earliest miracle plays was performed in the middle of the twelfth century, in the French language; and from a very early period French miracle and mystery plays, of a character even more interesting than our own, are known to have existed. The places where the performances were most frequent were, of course, the cathedral towns; but other large towns, in which the clergy were numerous, had also occasional or frequent opportunities of seeing such performances. They were patronised by several of our kings, and during their reigns; but began to disappear

about the time of Henry VIII, and are known but slightly in Elizabeth's time. In Chester, they were performed in the twelfth century; but from 1268 to 1577 they were nearly annual, and were attended by large crowds.

The season of the year in which these plays were performed in Chester was "the Whitsun Week," as it is called—a period which is still regarded as unquestionable holiday time by the inhabitants of Cheshire and Lancashire. The plays were twenty-four in number, so that eight were performed on each of the first three days. The locality was the streets of the ancient city, in the open air; and the weather at that season of the year is usually favourable to open representation. From the peculiar structure of Chester, it must have presented unusual facilities for seeing and hearing. The auditors in the Rows were like spectators in the boxes of an ordinary theatre; they could see and hear without the necessity and inconvenience of crowding. The original account by archdeacon Rogers, as quoted by Messrs. Sharpe and Wright, mentions the sort of stage on which the performances took place, and the general circumstances.

The performances were managed by the members of the various guilds, or trades' unions, as we should call them, superintended by the clergy, who were supposed to have a superior knowledge of the subjects. Each trade took the performance of one play, except where the numbers were small, and then two or three acted together. Thus, the goldsmiths performed the play called the "Slaughter of the Innocents"; the butchers "Satan tempting Christ"; skimmers "The Resurrection"; the cooks "The Harrowing of Hell", meaning the descent of our Lord to rescue the condemned spirits. Sometimes there was a slight degree of appropriateness in the arrangement of these, as when the water-leaders of the Dee performed the play of "Noah and his Ark." In certain cases we can only recognize the trades in the proper names of the present period, as capper (*i.e.* cap maker), stringer (rope-maker), corvisor (shoemaker), flecher (the person who feathered arrows), etc.

The number of the performers seldom exceeded twelve, the names of some of whom would sound strangely to modern ears,—as dominaciones, principates, potestates, thrones, God, cherubim, seraphin, Balaham's ass, etc. The Latin of the monks is sometimes amusing,—as *Primus Mulier*, *Secundus Mulier*, etc. In their addresses the utmost regularity is preserved, until the dialogue becomes peculiarly artificial. Thus, in the third play, the order in which they speak is, *Noye*, *Sem*, *Cam*, *Jaffett*, *Noye's Wife*, *Sem's Wife*, *Cam's Wife*, *Jaffett's Wife*. In another, four boys, three shepherds, and a servant follow in similar rotation.

The scenery and other stage furniture must have been of the most primitive kind, probably inferior to that of the penny and twopenny shows that still figure occasionally in our streets. Thus, in Noah's Flood, "the arek muste be borded round about, and on the bordes all the beastes and

foules painted". Again, when the star appears in the east, it is made to move, by a little angel carrying it away in his arms ; and the kings follow it by coming down from the stage, mounting on horses in the street, and riding round for a few minutes among the spectators.

The language in which these plays seem to have been written originally is French ; but they have evidently existed for a long time in English and several of the obsolete words and phrases are still retained in the provincialisms of this district. Thus, dig, crache, losel, clear or file, delve, sleech, hilling, etc., will be recognized at once. In some instances, the directions to the performers are given in Latin, and occasionally a verse of scripture, with the reference, is quoted in Latin. They are full of the most ludicrous incongruities, two of which are the following :—In the play of Noah, he and his family go into the ark, except his own wife, who is a little obstinate on the occasion : yet the dialogue is never for a moment interrupted between the parties within and without, and all are equally visible to the auditors in the street. Again, in the "Play of the Shepherds", they are obviously supposed to be tending their flocks in Cheshire ; they amuse themselves by wrestling—(then as now a favorite game in Cumberland)—and in eating their supper, they have "butter that was boughte in *Blackon*", "ale of *Halton*, and whotte meate", and a jannacke of *Lancaster* shire. Yet almost immediately after, when the star appears, we find them entering Jerusalem, as if it had been about as distant as Eaton Hall, and presenting their humble gifts,—a bell, a spoon and bottle, a pipe, a nuthook, etc.

There are those who will misunderstand the uses of these relics of our old English literature, but the scholar knows their importance. It is only the literary fop who will tell you that the popular poem of the *Children in the Wood* is but a vulgar ballad ; the student of human nature knows its influence on minds to which it is adapted, and is aware that it has often moved to tears of sincere sympathy the milkmaid and the country hind. The child loves the extravagant picture books, that can never be thoroughly driven from his nursery ; the boy delights in tales of excitement and danger ; and the adult man should not undervalue either of these, inasmuch as it has its uses. Now there is in society an infancy as well as in human life ; and when we look back at their primitive thoughts and feelings, as shadowed forth in literature like the Chester Mysteries, let us not sneer at the generations past, which are still as stones in our present building, but let us be duly thankful for all that is really improvement.

At eleven o'clock the carriages were again in waiting to convey all those going to Chester, to the landing stage. A special boat carried them across the river ; and a special train was again in readiness to convey them to Chester. Thus terminated one of the most gratifying days the Association has experienced, and it is but the performance of a debt of justice

to acknowledge in this Journal the high sense entertained by the members, of the elegant, hospitable, and most generous manner in which they were received and entertained. The entire expenses of the day, from quitting Chester in the morning to the return to Chester at night, were defrayed by the mayor of Liverpool and the several societies who had joined in the invitation.

Those members of the Association and friends who did not accompany the party on the visit to Liverpool and its vicinity, held a morning meeting in the Museum at the King's School, sir Wm. Betham, V.P., in the chair.

A paper on the "Ancient Mints of Chester," communicated by the President, was read. See pp. 233-235, *ante*.

John Owen, esq., of Manchester, presented to the Association the collection of Ancient Deeds mentioned by Dr. Ormerod, in his *History of Cheshire*, respecting Godley, in which local name originated that of a family settled in the county about the time of king John or Henry III. "About fourteen years ago", writes Ormerod, "the author accidentally saw in the hands of a county solicitor (Mr. Edward Chesshyre, we believe), a fine series of the charters of the Godleys, with appendant seals in beautiful preservation. They had been separated from the deeds bearing on the legal title, and the oldest of them, to the best of the author's recollection, were about the time of king John. One of these charters was a grant from the family of De Burgh, the ancient lords of Tintwistle".

The documents thus most liberally presented by Mr. Owen are forty-seven in number, fifteen of which are without date, and previous to 1290. The first with a date is 1294, and they range to the time of the Commonwealth. The seals attached to many of these deeds are of great value to the archæologist. To one parchment relative to the family of Ashton, no less than twenty-six wax seals of the Chester gentry were attached, and sir William Betham stated with reference to one document, which he inspected, that he had never seen a seal attached in a similar manner.

Mr. Black commented upon the value of these documents as illustrative of the history of conveyancing—and their importance to the knowledge of our law; the forms of which, however dry and unmeaning they may appear to be at first sight, he could assure the meeting were anything but so, and he hoped that the time was at hand when the study of archæology would show what really was useful in legal proceedings, and lead to the right understanding of truth. (These documents will be noticed in future numbers of the Journal.)

Mr. Black read an old ballad relative to a famous dispute between two Cheshire knights, sir Peter Leyeester and sir Thomas Mainwaring, about the legitimacy of Amicia, daughter of Hugh Lupus. The worthy knights were relatives by marriage, and the controversy agitated the county for

many years, and was hardly settled after the death of one of the principal controversialists.

Llewellynn Jewitt, esq., contributed a paper on "Ancient Customs of Cheshire." See pp. 252-255, *ante*.

The rev. Benjamin Mardon read the following :—

"Particulars concerning the widow of Milton, who survived her husband fifty-two years, and was buried at Nantwich, in the county of Cheshire."

The county in which this Archaeological Congress is being held, contains the mortal remains of the last consort of our great poet Milton. The comparative ignorance which prevails as to the fact, and some peculiar facilities I have for the undertaking, have induced me to attempt briefly to attract notice to circumstances, not it is conceived devoid of interest to those who search back into the history of eminent persons and their intimate associates.

Our great poet entered three times upon the conjugal relation. He married his first wife when 35 years of age, in 1643. She was the daughter of Richard Parot, esq., of Forest Hill, near Oxford, a gentleman of good estate and reputation, but a firm royalist. She had not lived with her husband above a month when, under pretence of a visit to her friends, she deserted him; but afterwards returned, and lived happily with him, becoming the mother of three daughters, Anne, Mary, and Deborah, who survived their father, and of a son, who died in infancy.

Milton removed from what his biographers call his lodgings, in Whitehall, during the time that he held the office of Latin Secretary under the Commonwealth, to a house opening into St. James's Park; the very house which was inhabited in our own day by Jeremy Bentham, in Queen-square, Westminster, and where he died. Milton continued to reside in this house till within a few weeks of the restoration. Here it was that he lost his first wife. He became, not long after, connected with the daughter of captain Woodcock of Hackney, probably of a puritan family, as it was the name of a dissenting preacher of that day, who also resided at Hackney. This lady, to the great grief of our poet, died within a year; and on that occasion he composed the well known and beautiful sonnet, a fac-simile of which, from the author's hand-writing, is given by the bishop of Winchester, in the preface to Milton's posthumous volume, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. The poet married his third wife, the more particular subject of this sketch, just after the restoration, as soon, says Toland,¹ "as his pardon was past the seal." With her he settled in the house in Artillery-walk, leading to Bunhill Fields, not to be forgotten in literary history as the place where the great national epic was carried on and completed, where he wrote *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, and where he composed and published also, his interesting and final *Treatise on True Religion*,

Heresy, Schism, etc. He left this house for Buckinghamshire during the plague in 1665, but returned to it; and this, says his nephew Philips, was his last stage in this world. Here he used to sit, in a gray coarse cloth coat, at the door in warm summer weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and there, as well as in his own room, received the visits of distinguished persons. In reference to this residence and to this habit of our great poet, I remember Mr. Leigh Hunt some thirty years ago humorously said, in conversation, the more striking to those who know the locality, "Milton sat moralizing in Bunhill-row".

This third wife of Milton, (and who survived as a widow during the long space of fifty-two years, during the greater part of the time at Nantwich in this county), was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Minshull, esq., of Stoke, situated three miles from that town. This gentleman, I learn from Ormerod, iii, 191, was descended from one of the most ancient families of the county (the Minshulls, of Church Minshull). Thus this wife of Milton was nearly allied to some of the best and noblest of the Cheshire royalists. Milton, at the time of this marriage, was fifty-three years of age. He acted, it is said, on the recommendation of his friend Dr. Paget, a physician of eminence in London, to whom this lady was distantly related. Her husband is described as being at the time blind and infirm, and needing some more constant and confidential companion than a servant to attend upon him. The motive which could have led this lady to enter upon such an unpromising task, presents an amiable view of her character, and may well endear her to those who participate deeply in admiration of her distinguished partner.

The elder Richardson intimates that this lady, being no poet or philosopher like her husband (surely it would be most unreasonable to expect that the amiable partner of our philosophic poet should have possessed his talents), used frequently to tease him for his carelessness or ignorance about money matters, and that she was a termagant. He adds, that soon after their marriage, a royal offer was made to Milton of the restoration of his office of Latin Secretary; and that his acceptance being strongly urged by his wife, he replied, "Thou art in the right. You, as other women, would ride in your coach. My aim is to live and die an honest man".

From certain testamentary papers it may, however, be made evident that she did really consult her husband's wishes, and, like an obedient wife, made herself agreeable to him, and greatly soothed by her attention the infirmities of his declining years.

Soon after his death,—how soon after I have not been able exactly to ascertain,—she retired to Nantwich, the neighbourhood of her birth, or went wholly to Stoke, the residence of her family. In the letters of administration granted to the widow, under date 25 Feb. 1674-5, she is

described as "lately (*nuper*) of the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate," where her husband died, and in the church of which he was buried.

Most literary persons are acquainted with the sale of the copyright of *Paradise Lost* to Samuel Simmons, the bookseller, for eight pounds. A receipt for that amount, signed by the widow, was, and perhaps is, in existence. The third edition of the poem was published in 1678, four years after the author's death.

Among the letters of Mr. G. Grey to his father, Dr. Zach. Grey, is the following notice of Mrs. Elizabeth Milton's death, from the original in Mr. Nichol's possession:—"There were three widow Miltons there, viz., at Namptwich—the poet's widow, my aunt, and another. The poet's widow died last summer". This was dated July 1731. (Todd.)

Now it is certain that a mistake must have been made here by Mr. Grey. We cannot well suppose this was in reference to his own relative, but the third mentioned, instead of the second, must have been the widow of the poet, for whom it is certain that a funeral sermon was preached, March 10, 1726, a circumstance minutely described by the editor of a volume of sermons preached by Mr. Isaac Kimber, the historian, at the time of Mrs. Milton's death, a dissenting minister at Namptwich, previously and subsequently an occasional preacher in the Barbican General Baptist Meeting House, London. A copy of this volume of sermons lies on the table. The 18th of which is entitled "On the Vanity and Uncertainty of Human Life," from St. James iv, 13, and was preached at the Funeral of Mrs. Elizabeth Milton, third wife and relict of the great author of *Paradise Lost*, who constantly attended our author's ministry.

[A plausible defence of Milton's conduct to his daughters, which does not properly belong to this sketch, may be seen in Dr. Charles Symmons's *Life of Milton*, pp. 580-82.]

To the mention of this sermon, in a historical treatise by Dr. John Evans, author of the *Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World*, (a useful treatise, well known for its genuine Catholicism, of which a striking but unintended evidence was afforded by a Methodist reviewer, who complained that he was not able to ascertain to which of the sects the author himself belonged), I was ultimately indebted for the suggestion to inquire about the grave of the poet's widow; at the same time I intended to gratify my feelings by a first attendance at the annual Congress of the Archaeological Association; and I shall be truly gratified if this imperfect article should appear pleasing and instructive to any of my auditors.

Now, although no monument marks the spot where her remains rest, yet the constant tradition of the religious societies with which she was connected, has preserved the knowledge of its locality. The burial-ground of the Baptists in Namptwich is a small fore-court, contiguous to the ancient and now dilapidated meeting-house in Barker-street, enclosed with a wall

and gates. The grave is situated immediately on the left-hand of the entrance, having the head against the wall, and the side against a grave, covered with a ledger gravestone.

It was during the period of the poet's marriage life with this lady, that he dictated the remarkable work which lay buried in manuscript for more than a century and a half, till it was brought to light by the researches of Mr. Lemon in the Old State Paper Office, situated in what is called the Middle Treasury Gallery, Whitehall.

We know from the early biographers of Milton, that a treatise on divinity had been drawn up by our great poet directly from the Scriptures, and that it was traced to the possession of Milton's favourite pupil, Cyriac Skinner, the same to whom the sonnet is addressed. "Where it is at present (says Toland, Milton's biographer, writing in 1699) is uncertain."

It is *one* of the circumstances leading Mr. Lemon and the editor of the treatise (Dr. Sumner), to a full belief, that the manuscript contains that treatise of Milton, that the parcel in which it was found, and which contained also a corrected copy of all the Latin letters to foreign princes and states, was inclosed in an envelope superscribed to Mr. Skinner, merchant.

I content myself with a reference to the highly ingenious and satisfactory arguments by which Mr. Lemon has determined the identity of this manuscript, and which are detailed in the preface to the English translation.

It has an equally close connexion with the immediate subject of this paper to observe, after Aubrey and others, who obtained their information from the widow herself (from whom Toland, who has derived some of the facts which he relates in his life), that as long as Milton lived, and while in a state of blindness, it was his custom to begin the day with hearing a portion of the Hebrew scriptures read; and that during every part of his life his Sundays were wholly devoted to theology. The importance which he attached to this pursuit is further confirmed by what Birch relates of the system pursued by him with his pupils. The Sunday work for his pupils was for the most part to read a portion of the Greek Testament, and hear his exposition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity which he collected from the most eminent writers upon that subject.

Dr. Sumner has observed various correspondences of argument and arrangement between the *Posthumous Treatise* and the works of several continental divines, at and before Milton's time. In other respects there is great originality in Milton's work. In doctrine, it may be worthy of remark, that Milton had relinquished some of the ordinary points of the creed of the Independents with which he had been connected, and had adopted the idea of believer's baptism (commonly called adult baptism), instead of the ordinary application of that rite to babes; and on another

great subject of controversy among Christians, had adopted the Arian tenet, and held very much the view a century afterwards advocated by Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's, Westminster, in his celebrated Scripture doctrine of the Trinity; and I deem it a curious coincidence, that the widow, in the latter part of her life, attended regularly one of the few ministers in the north of England by whom these two principles were maintained, as is evident from his volume of sermons, containing, as I have before said, the one preached on the occasion of her funeral. We may consider it, therefore, highly probable that this lady's opinions were the result of her intimate religious intercourse with her distinguished husband during his life time, which she herself understood, and naturally cherished as long as she lived.

As a not unsuitable conclusion, I beg to submit to the members a copy of an old engraving of Milton, (exhibiting very different, and I think more characteristic, features than those with which we are familiar), after a painting by Samuel Cooper, the friend of Milton and Cromwell, once in the possession of sir Joshua Reynolds, to which is appended a curious note of its history; and to the engraving is sir Joshua's attestation of its exact correspondence with the original picture.

The proceedings of this meeting terminated by a lecture on the Roman Antiquities of Chester, by C. Roach Smith, esq. (see pp. 207-233 *ante*), the rev. W. H. Massie in the chair. Mr. Smith also described several of the Roman and medieval antiquities exhibited in the temporary museum; after which the rev. Chairman conducted the company round the walls, and to other parts of the city, to examine the Roman remains.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3.

This morning a party left Chester by special train, on an excursion to the Vale of Llangollen. On arriving at the Chirk station, a numerous division proceeded to Chirk Castle, the residence of colonel Robert Myddelton Biddulph, lord lieutenant of the county of Denbigh, by whom they were received and conducted over the whole of the building. Of this castle, Mr. Catherall, of Chester, printed a short account for the use of the members of the Association, by which it appears, that according to one authority it was begun in 1011; but another states it to have been built by Roger Mortimer, in the reign of Henry II. It was sold by John, the grandson of Roger Mortimer, to Richard, earl of Arundel, in whose family it remained for three generations, afterwards passing to Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. On his exile, in 1307, it was given by the crown to William, Lord Abergavenny, in whose family it remained until the reign of Henry VI. It was afterwards possessed by sir W. Stanley, and in 1534 was given, together with Holt Castle, by Henry VIII to his natural

son, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerset; after whose death it again returned to the crown. Queen Elizabeth bestowed it upon the earl of Leicester, upon whose death it became the property of Lord St. John; whose son, in 1595, sold it to sir Thomas Myddelton, in whose family it still remains. The castle is supposed to be built on the site of an ancient British fortress, called by the Welsh "Castle Crogen." No account of this fortress has been given, nor are there any traces of such observable in the masonry of the building.

Mr. Pugin has recently made great improvements and alterations, and the interior has now a very splendid appearance. The lower apartments are of the pure Gothic of the fifteenth century. The south wing retains its ancient character, and is exceedingly interesting. The castle commands a view into seventeen counties.

From Chirk Castle the party proceeded to view Valle Crucis Abbey, and the Pillar of Eliseg. The former is the picturesque ruin consisting of fine remains of ecclesiastical architecture, as shown in a Cistercian monastery founded about the year 1200, an account of which may be seen in the second volume of "Pennant's Tour in Wales"; the latter, a monumental pillar, standing in a beautifully secluded glen about a quarter of a mile from the abbey. It is an old and curious British cross, erected to the memory of Eliseg, whose son was engaged in the memorable border wars at the close of the sixth century, and was defeated at the battle of Chester, A.D. 607. It is also described by Pennant.

Beeston castle and Bunbury church were visited by another party. The castle dates its erection in the twelfth century. The remains of an old Roman road may be traced in its vicinity. Its foundation is attributed to Ranulph Blondville, sixth earl of Chester, after the conquest. The remains stand out in bold relief, the castle having been built on an isolated rock, three miles south of Tarporley, and ten miles south-east of the city of Chester; and it must have been an almost impregnable position before the use of artillery in warfare.¹

The proceedings of the day were closed by a conversazione in the evening, at which it was notified that the church of St. John would be inspected on the following morning, at eight o'clock.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4.

At an early hour, a large party of members of the Association and visitors assembled at St. John's church, and were received by the rev. Mr. Marsden. A considerable time was passed in the inspection of this edifice, and regret was strongly expressed that it had not occupied the attention of

¹ The reader is referred to "The History of Beeston Castle", by Mr. John Hicklin, for a condensed, but interesting and accurate account of this building.



the Association at an earlier period, as its history and architecture would have formed fruitful topics of valuable discussion. In consequence, however, of the desire expressed by a large number of the congress members, Mr. Ashpitel was requested to meet them at St. John's, and to give an extempore address upon that fine old church. Accordingly this morning a numerous party of the clergy, the Archaeological Society of Chester, and others, assembled in the church; and Mr. Ashpitel commenced by expressing his regret that the time allotted to him in the cathedral had been so short, he had no time at all to think of St. John's; and he regretted this the more, as a great many manuscripts relative to the building were in the British Museum. He then related this legend of the foundation of the church; that king Ethelred, who had long intended such a work, dreamed that he saw Saint John the Baptist, who told him to commence on that spot of ground where he should first see a white hind; and accordingly the church of St. John was erected on this spot. He (Mr. Ashpitel) saw nothing improbable about such a legend, and he observed that on the western front is the effigy of a bishop, caressing an animal very like a small stag: this was in 697. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that, in 987, Ethelred, earl of Mercia, founded a collegiate church here; and the *Cestrian Chronicle* states, that in 1057, only nine years before the conquest, earl Leofric repaired it. Mr. Ashpitel observed, it would be clear there were two marked differences of style in the building, and two subdivisions of them. The first is marked by the large cylindrical pier, and the circular arches, quite plain, on the under side or soffit, and its subdivision shews piers with smaller shafts, and with mouldings on the edges of the arch. Now the question was, did these form any part of the Saxon church? It formerly was the case, that every round arch was called Saxon, and every pointed arch Gothic. As the knowledge of the science advanced, the earlier part of every church was still called Saxon, and the other parts attributed to later dates. At present there seemed such a reaction, that no part at all of anything is allowed to be Saxon, but everything referred to the Norman period. In truth, there was still much to be learned on the subject. It could never be, that work erected just before the Conquest would be pulled down merely to be replaced by other work of the same kind, and as near as we can understand, in the same style with but little difference. It could never be, that we have no relics of that wealthy people, who succeeded in Britain to Roman arts and civilization. Still, till more facts are collected, we must suspend our judgment, and we must not despair of finding some plain distinctive marks. But few years ago, all sort of Gothic work was pronounced a riddle and puzzle, and that it was one of those lost arts that could never be recovered. We now can at any time discriminate within twenty years the age of our buildings. He recommended this to the serious attention of the local society. He then refer-

red again to the fact of the plain flat soffits to the arches of the nave, and stated, that in all Roman and classic work the soffit of the arch is plain, and he should consider the near approach to the classic form, from which in effect we derive all our architecture, would probably be the oldest, and that the Saxons were more likely to follow their forms, than the Normans, who were in effect Northmen, and who had seized a settlement on the coast of France, and found art already much altered. Mr. Ashpitel also pointed out the horse-shoe form of some of the arches, and then adverted to the triforium and the clerestory; the lower is of the latest Anglo-Norman, or earliest English, the shafts are banded, the base square, and the foliage very stiff and hard; the upper triforium or clerestory is evidently later, the shafts are plain, and the caps round and not foliated.

The only historic record he had seen was also in the *Cestrian Chronicle*, that in 1140 the city was burnt, "1140, II Cal. Julii, Urbs Cestriæ combusta est". Forty years after it was all burnt: "1180, Cestria tota fere combusta est". It is precisely shortly after these dates, the transitions were taking place. It is not impossible but the church may have been twice injured by fire. The Norman roofs were of timber, and not stone; and it is not improbable that there were two successive restorations, each shortly after the period of the respective disasters. He then stated that about 1470 the central tower fell; and shortly after the new north west tower was built. As had been suggested by the rev. Mr. Massie, the work of Simon Ripley at St. Werburgh's was rapidly proceeding, and he pointed out several characters connected with the covering on the bands, and with the deep hollow round the windows, which are very similar in character to the work at St. Werburgh's. Mr. Ashpitel then alluded to an old plan, now in the British Museum, which shewed that the nave had originally three more bays; and it is stated that walling had been found below ground, where the old walls must have been. The party then proceeded round the church, and the curious portion of clerestory windows, which are pierced through every second or third opening, were pointed out. The position of the nunneries, of which all vestige has now disappeared, was also pointed out; and the party proceeded to enter the rev. Mr. Marsden's garden by an early English gate, removed a short time back from the old nunnery, when Mr. Ashpitel pointed out the large Norman arch that was formerly the entrance to the apsis of the church. In the plan in the museum one small apsis is shewn, but from the Norman work of the aisles, it is clear there must have been three apses; or, what is also probable, one apsis with ambulatory behind inclosing the centre as at Canterbury. The Lady chapel with its aisles, which are of late decorated work, were then described and examined; and also a very singular oak coffin, which stands against one of the walls. The doorway into Mr. Marsden's house, and the vaults which form the kitchen, were next

visited. Mr. Ashpitel gave an account of the origin and use of crypts. In the early church, the Christians were compelled to worship in them, to avoid persecution. They were very frequent till the decorated period; in fact there were many churches where they were then, and if none under the church, there were small ones under the chapter-houses: in some places entirely used for burial services.

An interesting discussion took place from time to time during these remarks, and the party separated, with thanks to the rev. Mr. Marsden for his attention and politeness, and proceeded to join the general meeting.

THE CLOSING MEETING

Of the Congress was held in the Assembly-Room of the Royal Hotel, at ten o'clock; the very rev. the Dean in the chair.

Mr. Pettigrew then rose and said, that now the Congress was about being brought to a close, a most gratifying duty had been allotted to him. He was sure there was not one member of the British Archaeological Association who would not feel with himself that their best thanks were first due to the lord bishop of the diocese, for his kindness in being patron of the meeting. It was essentially important to the welfare and interests of any society visiting a cathedral town, that it should receive the countenance of the bishop. Now the members of the British Archaeological Society on the occasion of its visit to the ancient city of Chester, had not simply received the countenance of the bishop of the diocese as patron of the meeting, but his lordship had entered into all the objects which the Society had in view, with a warmth and sincerity which ought to make them deeply grateful; and had on all occasions expressed himself with a grace, an elegance, and an eloquence, which must have warmed the hearts of all who had the pleasure of hearing him. It would ill become him (Mr. Pettigrew) to trespass upon their time by descanting on the amiable qualities of the bishop, and he would confine himself simply to expressing the feeling of the noble president, lord Albert Conyngham, whom he had the honour to represent in his absence, that he felt deeply grateful to the lord bishop for his kindness, and to hope that the happy communication which had been opened might long continue. He had great pleasure in moving the thanks of the meeting to the lord bishop for his kindness in being patron of the meeting.

Mr. C. Roach Smith briefly seconded the motion, which was carried amid much applause.

Sir Fortunatus Dwaris then moved a vote of thanks to the very rev. the dean and the clergy of the district, paying a well-merited compliment to the dean for the urbanity and courtesy with which he had met the members of the Society, and the zeal which he had exhibited in forwarding all their objects, which had been nobly emulated by the chapter.

Mr. Gould seconded the motion, which was put to the meeting by Mr. Pettigrew, and carried unanimously.

Mr. J. R. Planché said, it gave him unmingled satisfaction in being honoured as the mover of the next resolution. They had all been delighted and instructed with what they had heard during the week, but the recollection of the generous hospitality of the chief magistrate of the city, sir Edward Walker, would not speedily be forgotten; and he doubted not they would agree with him (Mr. Planché) that to his worship and the corporation the thanks of the Society were next especially due. Mr. Planché, after alluding to the good feeling which had been exhibited by the citizens of Chester generally, proceeded to narrate a little circumstance which happened the other day as he was rambling through the cloisters of the venerable cathedral. He was sure they would excuse him for mentioning it; for though it might appear trifling in itself, yet it had produced a feeling in him he could not attempt to describe. It was expressed with an anxiousness and a sincerity of feeling that made it the more interesting. A poor woman, passing along, exclaimed, "What would I give to know what that means!" Happily he was able to satisfy her inquiry. He thought the result of the meeting would not only be the means of cementing the members of the Association closer together, and of elevating and improving themselves, but that it would be the means of arousing in others a spirit of anxious inquiry, which would ultimately be beneficial. He trusted that the friends whom he had met in Chester would all live to be antiquities, and that he might have the pleasure of illustrating them. Mr. Planché concluded by moving the resolution.

Mr. Webb seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. J. S. Buckingham moved a vote of thanks to the mayor and corporation of Liverpool, which being seconded by Mr. Whichcord, was unanimously affirmed.

Mr. Ashpitel said, in taking leave of the inhabitants of Chester, after a week of the utmost enjoyment, he could not help expressing the long lingering feeling which seemed to haunt him when he thought that he was now obliged to part with such kind-hearted friends as he had met with in Chester—a kindness which would never be effaced from his memory, and which he heartily wished he might have the pleasure of reciprocating. Such an open and frank cordiality as the members of the British Archaeological Association had received in Chester, he was sure would never be forgotten by any of them. The resolution which he had to propose was, that the best thanks of the meeting be given to sir Edward Walker, as chairman; the members of the local committee; and the secretary, Mr. William Ayrton, for their invaluable services. To the latter gentleman in particular they owed a deep debt of gratitude for the activity, courtesy, and attention which he had shown in meeting the wishes of the Society. There were

others he would like especially to notice, but he thought at that hour it would be exceedingly bad taste for him to detain them, and he would only mention the name of Mr. Hicklin, whose valuable assistance he felt bound to acknowledge. In conclusion, he thought their acknowledgments were also due to those persons who had kindly contributed articles to the museum. It gave him great pleasure to move the resolution.

Mr. Wright seconded the resolution, which was affirmed in the same cordial manner as the preceding ones.

Mr. Jerdan proposed a vote of thanks to the members of the Historic Society of Liverpool, for their cordial cooperation in forwarding the views of the British Archaeological Association in its excursion to that great commercial town. In doing so, he would take upon himself to couple with the vote the name of the rev. Dr. Hume, to whom they were greatly indebted for the pleasures of that day by his instructive paper. He classed the visit to Liverpool amongst one of the most interesting features of the proceedings of the week. The recollection which it brought to their minds of the progress of the present age, was most instructive. They there saw works of their own day vastly superior to the greatest of the Romans—the magnificent range of docks, with the flags of all nations floating to the breeze, was a sight that must be seen to be credited.

Mr. Thomas Wright seconded the motion, which was carried.

Mr. George Wright moved a vote of thanks to the persons who had acted as curators to the Museum during the week, which was seconded by Mr. David Roberts, R.A., and carried.

The very rev. the dean closed the proceedings by apologizing for the absence of their revered diocesan, who was engaged in his episcopal duties elsewhere, and by thanking him for the kind expression of their feeling towards him.

There was afterwards a public breakfast in the Assembly Room of the Royal Hotel.

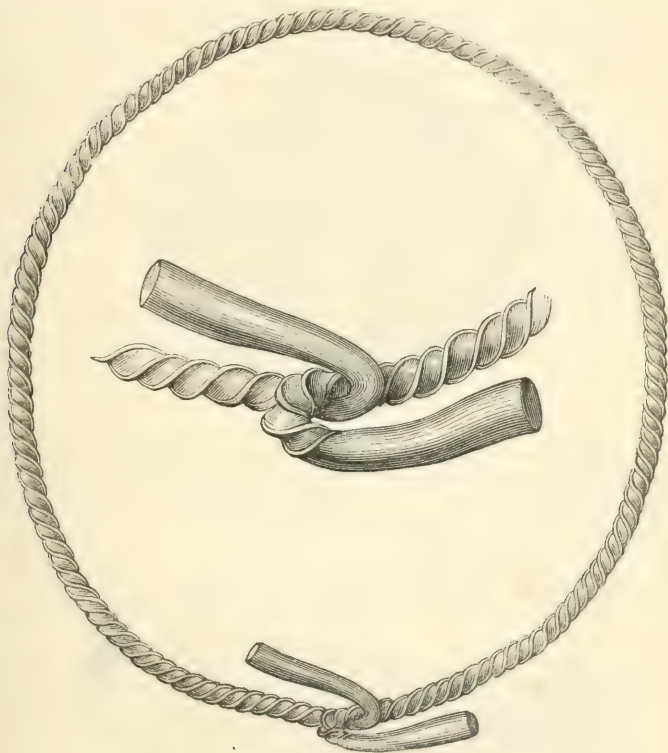
The King's school being offered to the Association for the exhibition of antiquities, it was immediately determined to form a temporary museum, and by the aid of several of the members of the Association and the inhabitants of Chester, a very fine collection was speedily brought together and arranged. A catalogue, forming a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, 8vo., was also printed for the use of the members and visitors attending the congress, and gave great satisfaction and instruction. The specimens were arranged in different classes, under the heads of Egyptian, Etruscan, Bactrian and Indian, British, Roman, Romano-British, Samian Pottery, Lamps, Pavements, Bronze, Early Irish, Medieval, Local and Miscellaneous, including various drawings, manuscripts and early printed books.

The following are deserving of notice in this brief summary of the Proceedings of the Congress :—

Gold Torques.—The following communication respecting this beautiful and valuable ornament, is from Mr. George Allen, of Eaton, addressed to the Secretary :—

“ I herewith send you, at the desire of lord Westminster, some account of the golden torques.

“ It was found in 1816, by a miner of the name of William Morris, whilst working a limestone quarry at Bryn Shon, in the parish of Ysceiviog, near Holywell. The man at the time was working at the bottom of the quarry, when some of the soil and loose stones from the sides of the quarry rolled down, and amongst this was found the torques.



Golden torques in the possession of the marquis of Westminster. In the centre the heels or fastenings are shewn on a larger scale.

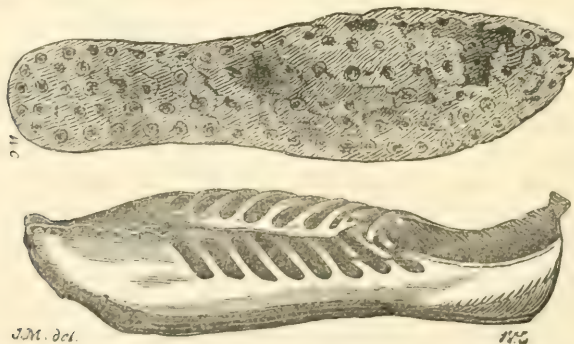
I send you a small drawing of it, and also an enlarged drawing of the ends, or hooks, by which it is fastened. The circumference of it (exclusive of the hooks, which are each nearly three inches long) is forty-four inches, and the weight of it nearly twenty-eight ounces. It is not very regularly shaped as to its thickness, nor is it very regularly twisted.”

A Roman enamelled fibula, shewn in two views in the annexed cut, engraved the size of the original. It was found in 1840, in a field near



Chester, on the Parkgate road, but under what circumstances no information has transpired. This fibula is one of the largest of the kind known. The material is bronze, set in green, white, and red enamels tastefully, alternating in circular bands.¹

Two Roman sandals, found about seven feet below the surface of a bog on Bowness Flow; in the possession of Joseph Mayer, esq.



¹ Exhibited by the Chester Mechanics Institute. The cut has been kindly lent by the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society. This fibula is late Roman. Similar specimens have been found in this county and in France.

These sandals do not pair, although of the same style of workmanship, both being for the right foot; there are also other points of difference. They measure eleven inches and a half in length, and have been well nailed; the lower layer of the sole is gone, else these exceedingly rare illustrations of the useful arts in ancient times are well preserved. Several varieties of Roman sandals, from the bed of the Thames, and from the line of the old Wallbrook, are in the museum of Mr. C. Roach Smith; which differ somewhat in pattern from Mr. Mayer's.¹

Series of drawings from churches in Norfolk, exhibited by Dawson Turner, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.—

Drawings from stone bosses from the groined roof of St. Helen's church, Norwich, containing Coronation of the Virgin? Burial of Christ, Ascension, and Resurrection. Also a series of figures representing Martyrs with their various attributes. Carving of St. Margaret and the Dragon. Supposed portion of the altar of Christ's chapel, Norwich cathedral. Five paintings, the subjects from the life of Christ. 1. The Flagellation. 2. Bearing the Cross. 3. Crucifixion. 4. Resurrection. 5. Ascension. In the latter subject Christ is represented in an *aureole*. The backgrounds are diapered and gilt. In the Crucifixion, the centurion is habited in a closely fitting jupon richly embroidered, a cap *garded* with fur, and a scarlet mantle fastened on the shoulder; he holds a scroll with these words, "Vere filius Dei erat iste." Date of these works, the fifteenth century.

It is due to the several members, visitors, and societies, to record their assistance in the formation of the Museum: Chapter House, Chester City Library, Mechanics Institution, Jail.

The marquis of Westminster, lord Albert Conyngham, hon. R. C. Neville, sir Pyers Mostyn, Bart., sir Edw. Walker, reverends W. Massie, W. E. Wynne, Beale Poste, R. Massie, F. Rowell, Joseph Eaton.

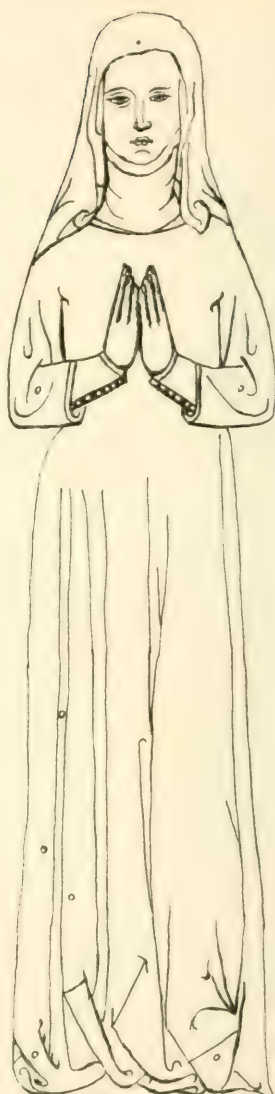
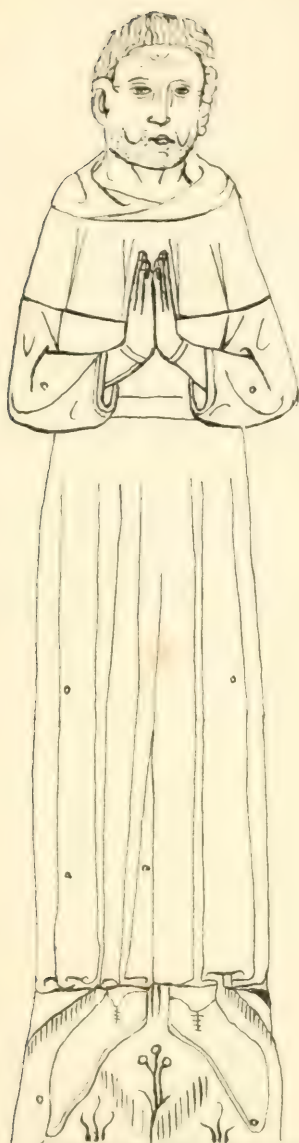
Messrs. T. J. Pettigrew, C. Roach Smith, T. C. Croker, F. W. Fairholt, Joseph Clarke, Dawson Turner, W. Whincopp, C. Warne, T. Purland, E. B. Price, W. Chaffers, Jas. Brown, W. H. Rolfe, A. C. Kirkmann, E. Peacock, jun., W. Bland, C. Hall, E. Keet, E. Pretty, J. Silvester, T. Bateman, S. W. Stevenson, — Knight, E. J. Powell, F. J. Baigent, J. G. Waller, W. H. Black, J. Arden, W. Carruthers, J. Lowe, W. Ayrton, jun., J. Mayer, J. Bankes, W. Fairclough, F. Potts, T. Baylis, — Dutton, W. Massey, W. W. Wynn, R. Cole, G. Folliott, — Baden, De Gerville.

Lady Albert Conyngham, Mrs. Black, Miss Roberts.

¹ Exhibited by Mr. Mayer, to whom the Association is also indebted for the loan of the cut.

DONATIONS RECEIVED IN AID OF THE CONGRESS.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester	-	-	-	£10	10	0
Sir Edward Walker, Mayor	-	-	-	10	10	0
Lord De Tabley	-	-	-	5	5	0
Wm. Atkinson, Esq.	-	-	-	5	5	0
Right Rev. Lord Bishop of St. Asaph	-	-	-	5	0	0
John Tollemache, Esq., M.P.	-	-	-	5	0	0
Peter Legh, Esq.	-	-	-	5	0	0
Joseph Mayer, Esq.	-	-	-	5	0	0
Col. Myddelton Biddulph	-	-	-	3	3	0
F. N. West, Esq., M.P.	-	-	-	3	0	0
G. C. Antrobus, Esq.	-	-	-	2	2	0



John Pecok & Maud la femme gunt
 yci deu de lour almes s'ent merçiamē

Whole

South aisle St Michael's Church N^o St. Albans

1th size Oct 1849

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JANUARY 1850.

Proceedings of the Association.

MAY 9, 1849.

MR. PLANCHÉ submitted a tilting helmet of the fifteenth century, recently obtained by Mr. Pratt; which, together with other specimens, will form the subject of a distinct paper, with illustrations, in the next volume of the *Journal*.

Mr. Rolfe exhibited a denarius of Caligula, reverse, the head of Augustus, found a few days since at St. Bartholomew's, near Sandwich; a third brass of Carausius, found at Richborough, reverse, CORR. PRÆT.; four standards (in the collection of Mr. Reader, of Sandwich); and a silver ring, of the fifteenth century, with figures of saints, found at Minster, in Thanet.

Mr. Rolfe also communicated the discovery, at Canterbury, near the city wall, of a skeleton, with a long sword by its side, and an elegant Roman vase at its head; the latter is of fine red glazed pottery, and at the side of the neck is ornamented with the figure of a female head.

Mr. William Edwards, of Red Cross-street, City, exhibited specimens of the gold British coins lately found at Whaddon Chase, selected from a large quantity in his possession. Altogether, there appear to be about seven varieties of types figured in plates I and II of Ruding. Mr. W. Lowndes, upon whose estate these coins were found, has behaved very generously in rendering them accessible, and nothing could be more honourable than the conduct of his tenantry in delivering up to him such as fell into their hands. By the law of the land, the lord of the manor can claim such objects. Without expressing an opinion on the wisdom or policy of such a law, it must be very apparent, that in most instances it



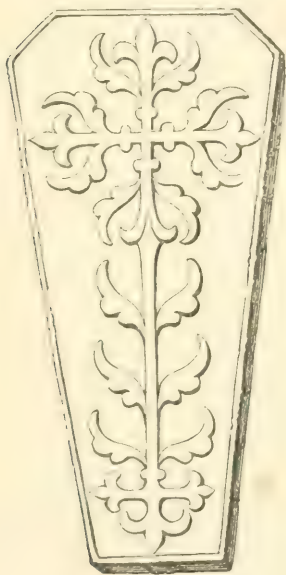
operates most prejudicially to the science of antiquity, and is the cause of the destruction of a vast quantity of coins and other precious remains. There is a general belief among labourers, that he who finds such things, has a moral if not a legal right to them.

Papers were communicated by Mr. Smith on some fibulae in the museum of the hon. Mr. Neville (see pp. 113-118 ante); and by Mr. Baigent, on a piece of sculpture discovered in the wall of the church of Stoke Charity (see p. 258 ante).

MAY 30.

Mr. F. I. Baigent forwarded coloured drawings of mural paintings recently brought to light on the walls of the church of St. Cross, during some repairs; upon which a paper, with illustrations, will appear in the next volume of the *Journal*.

Mr. Burkitt stated, that—"On Sunday, 13th of May, while digging a grave in the church-yard of Wootton, Bedfordshire, the sexton discovered, at about one foot from the surface, a stone coffin-lid. The discovery was communicated to Mr. Hill, the parish clerk, who gave orders that the grave should be made at another spot. On the following morning, the rev. J. Jenkyn and the churchwardens directed that the ground should be excavated with care, and they had the satisfaction of raising the slab, which, on cleaning, was found to be one of superior construction, and worthy of preservation (see cut). On the upper surface appeared a beautiful and elaborate cross in bold relief, ornamented with foliage and branches. The slab is of the following dimensions:—length, six feet five inches; width at the head, one foot eleven inches; and at the foot, fourteen inches and a half; thickness at the outer edges, seven inches; in the middle, or ridge, nine inches and a half.



"On proceeding with the excavation, through a layer of gravel of the depth of about two feet, they came to an entire skeleton (without any indication of a coffin), laying on the natural soil, which is a stiff clay. The character of the sculpture on the stone, as well as that of the interment, may probably indicate the twelfth century. The bones have been

left undisturbed, and by directions of the vicar, a brick arch has been turned over them, on which he has laid the sepulchral slab."

Mr. Humphrey Wickham, of Strood, Kent, transmitted the following:—"Herewith I send drawings of some of the urns, etc., found lately in the Hoo marshes, belonging to W. H. Nicholson, esq., the banker of Rochester.



Scale, one-eighth of an inch to the inch.

1.—17 inches in diameter; 18½ in height
2.—5 inches in diameter; 7 in height

3.—4 inches in diameter; 2½ in height
4.—1½ inches in height

They were buried in the flat ground adjoining the Medway, which the spring tides flow over, about three quarters of a mile south-east of Hoo church, and were found at the depth of about five feet; the earth had been dug away very even, but I could not discern the slightest indication of its having been moved at any previous time; and, I am inclined to think, that at least four feet of the earth (a very stiff clay) had accumulated from deposits left by the tide, since the vessels were placed in the ground; a slight layer of peat occurs at about three feet and a half from the present surface, which causes me to think, that at some time a considerable extent of land went to sea (as we say), and it was never recovered, but left for the tides to flow over it ever since.

"The three vessels, figured 1, 2, 3, formed one deposit, the bottle being close by the side of the urn, and the cup placed in the mouth of the urn, where it was found lodged in the neck, the mouth being covered with a tile; the urn had two handles, but one appears to have been broken off before it was placed where we found it. The vessel, figure 4, was of a blackish colour outside and inside, and made of light-brown clay: it was

found inside of an urn, much broken, and apparently imperfectly burnt, which was one foot nine inches in diameter, and five eighths of an inch thick. There was also a dish, four inches in diameter, of Samian ware, broken into several pieces, in the same urn.

"In another urn, broken and dispersed, there were, a dish, nine inches in diameter, of Samian ware, broken into many pieces; and another, slightly ornamented with scratches, had a coating of glaze inside and out, which is now peeling off, and shews the scratches do not extend to the body of the vessel, nor even through the coating. This vessel was three inches and a half in height. I found portions of the mouth of the urn in which they were contained, and upon putting them together, I ascertained the inside was four inches and a half in diameter, so that either the urn or the Samian patera must have been broken when the deposit was made."

The following paper, on the toad-stone,¹ was communicated by Mr. George Isaacs:—

"Superstitions with regard to the toad are of great antiquity; but on this occasion, I shall confine my remarks to those in connexion with a stone traditionally presumed to have been found in the head of a toad, and therefore called a *toad-stone*, in illustration of two rings containing such stones, which I have the pleasure of submitting to the Association.

"One of these rings is of silver gilt, and in every respect similar to that represented by Quintyn Matsys, on the finger of one of the misers, in his famous picture at Windsor. The other is of silver, and contains one of the rarer kinds of these stones, imprinted with the figure of a toad. Both are of the fifteenth century.

"The toad-stone, considered valuable by our forefathers for its supernatural attributes in the cure and prevention of disease, is often mentioned in ancient metrical romances, and by our old dramatists. Ben Jonson, in his play of *The Fox* (ii, 5), makes Corvino exclaim:—

"What, was your mountebanke their call? their whistle?
Were you enamour'd on his copper rings?
His saffron jewel with the *toad-stone* in it?"

"Lyly, in his *Euphues*, observes, 'the foule toad hath a faire *stone* in his heul'; and Shakespeare finds in this one of his most lovely similes:—

"Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Yet wears a precious jewel in its head.

¹ Toad-stone is known by mineralogists as a variety of trap rock, and beds of it are to be found in Derbyshire. The toad-stones met with in rings are chiefly of shell, having an irregular tuberculated appearance when seen in a particular light. These are imported from the east. Specimens may be seen in the British Museum.—r.

"According to the *Mirour of Stones*, there were two kinds of toad-stone; that which is best is rarely found; the other is black or dim, with a cerulean glow, having in the middle the similitude of an eye, and must be taken out while the dead toad was yet panting; and these are better than those which are extracted from it after a long continuance in the ground. They have a wonderful efficacy in poison, for whoever has swallowed poisons let him swallow this, which being down rolls about the bowels, and drives out every poisonous quality that is lodged in the intestines, then passes through the fundament, and is preserved.

"The toad-stone is known by the names of *Crapaudina*, *Crapaudine*, *Crapawtes*, *Crapondinus*, *Crapowtes*, *Crepaud*, and *Crepawnde*. It was also called *Batracheo*, *Batrachites*, *Borax*, *Bronca*, *Brontia*, *Nise*, *Ceraunia*, and *Chelonitis*.

"Florio, however, in his *Worlde of Wordes*, renders the *ceraunia* (*ceraumo* or *cerauro*), 'a kinde of blackish and blewish stone, which put into vinegar and salt-peter, will in time grow to have a bright glittering star in the centre of it, and taken out, will just in so long time lose it again. It is said to fall out of the clouds, and who wears it about him cannot be drowned. Some have taken it for a kinde of glittering pearle.' The same authority describes the *chelonitis* (*chelonina*, *chelonite*, or *chelonitide*), as 'a precious stone like unto a tortoiseshell, and taken out of a tortoise head, good against stormes.'

"In the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, written about the year 1440, *crepawnde* is translated *smaragdus*, a name properly denoting the emerald, but here possibly referring to a green variety of toad-stone, described by Albertus Magnus, as having the figure of the reptile imprinted upon it.

"Lupton, in his *Thousand notable things*, tells us of 'A rare good way to get the stone called *crapaudina* out of the toad,' which is this:—'Put a great or overgrowne toad (first bruised in divers places), into an earthen pot; put the same into an ant's hillocke, and cover the same with earth, which toad at length the ants will eat, so that the bones of the toad and stone will be left in the pot, which Mizaldus and many others (as he saith) hath oft time proved.' The same credulous author adds:—'To know whether the toad-stone called *crapaudina*, be the right and perfect stone or not, holde the stone before a toad so that he may see it, and if it be a right and true stone, the toad will leap toward it, and make as though he would snatch it from you; he envieth so much that a man should have that stone. This was credibly told Mizaldus for truth, by one of the French king's physicians, which affirmed that he did see the trial thereof.'

"Topsel, in his *History of Serpents*, discourses quaintly and at length on this stone. 'There be (quoth he), many late writers which do affirm, that there is a precious stone in the head of a toad, whose opinions

(Because they attribute much to the vertue of this stone), it is good to examine in this place, that so the reader may be satisfied whether to hold it as a fable, or as a true matter, exemplifying the powerful working of Almighty God in nature : for there be many that wear these stones in rings, being verily perswaded, that they keep them from all manner of gripings, and pains of the belly and small guts ; but the art (as they term it), is in taking of it out, for they say it must be taken out of the head alive, before the toad be dead, with a piece of cloth of the colour of red scarlet, where-withal they are much delighted, so that while they stretch out themselves as it were in sport upon that cloth, they cast out the stone of their head, but, instantly they sup it up again, unless it be taken from them through some secret hole in the said cloth, whereby it falleth into a cistern or vessel of water, into the which the toad dareth not to enter, by reason of the coldnesse of the water. These things writeth Masarius.

“ ‘Brasavolus saith, that he found such a thing in the head of a toad, but he rather took it to be a bone than a stone, the colour whereof was brown, inclining to blacknesse. Some say it is double, namely :—outwardly a hollow bone, and inwardly a stone contained therein, the vertue whereof is said to break, prevent, or cure the stone in the bladder. Now how this stone should be there ingendered, there are divers opinions also, and they say that stones are ingendered in living creatures, two manner of ways ; either through heat or extreme cold,—as in the snail, pearech, crab, Indian tortoysses, and toads ; so that by extremity of cold this stone should be gotten.

“ ‘Against this opinion the colour of the stone is objected, which is sometimes white, sometimes brown or blackish, having a citrine or blew spot in the middle, *sometimes all green, whereupon is naturally engraven the figure of a toad.* And this stone is sometimes called borax, sometimes crapon-dine, and sometimes niseæ, or musæ, and chelonites. Others do make two kindes of these two stones, one resembling a great deal of milk mixed with a little blond, so that the white exceedeth the red, and yet both are apparent and visible ; the other all black, wherein they say is the picture of a toad, with her legs spread before and behinde. And it is further affirmed that, if both these stones be held in one’s hand in the presence of poyson, it will burn him. The probation of this stone is by laying of it to a live toad, and if she lift up her head against it, it is good, but if she run away from it, it is a counterfeit.

“ ‘Geor. Agricola calleth the greater kind of these stones, brontia, and the lesser and smoother sort of stones, cerrauniæ, although some contrary this opinion, saying that these stones, brontia, and cerrauniæ, are bred on the earth by thunder and lightnings. Whereas it is said before, that the generation of this stone in the toad proceedeth of cold, that is utterly impossible, for it is described to be so solid and firm, as nothing can be more

hard, and therefore I cannot assent unto that opinion, for unto hard and solid things is required abundance of heat ; and against it is unlikely, that whatsoever this toadstone be, that there should be any store of them in the world as are every where visible, if they were to be taken out of the toads alive; and therefore I rather agree with Salvendensis a Spaniard, who thinketh that it is begotten by a certain viscous spume, breathed out upon the head of some toad, by her fellows in the spring time.

“ ‘ This stone is that which in ancient time was called batrachites, and they attribute unto it a vertue besides the former, namely : for the breaking of the stone in the bladder, and against the falling sicknesse. And they further write, that it is a discoverer of present poyson, for in the presence of poysons it will change the colour. And this is the substance of that which is written about this stone. Now for my part, I dare not conclude either with it, or against it, for Hermolaus, Massarius, Albertus, Sylvaticus, and others, are directly for this stone ingendered in the brain, or head of the toad ; on the other side, Cardan and Gesner confesse such a stone by name and nature, but they make doubt of the generation of it, as others have delivered.’ The unexceptionable advice that follows, will I am sure, be appreciated by my readers. ‘ And, therefore (says Topsel), they being in sundry opinions, the hearing whereof might confound the reader, *I will refer him for his satisfaction unto a toad*, which he may easily every day kill. For although when the toad is dead, the vertue thereof be lost, which consisted in the eye, or blew spot in the middle, yet the substance remaineth, and if the stone be found there in substance, then is the question at an end, but if it be not, then must the generation of it be sought for in some other place.’ ”

Mr. George Gwilt communicated the following paper :—“ I for one feel greatly obliged to Mr. Chaffers, for the interesting collection of mediæval fictile utensils he has brought together in the seventeenth number of our *Journal*; amongst them, however, one has been omitted, which, from its rare occurrence, has probably never come under his cognizance. Stimulated by his good example, and for the reason assigned by him, that we are to regard them principally in relation to their utility, I venture to offer to the notice of the Association, a description of the one I allude to, which, from its philosophical character, will not, I trust, be found altogether unworthy of attention ; although, as I am informed by Mr. Pettigrew, it is continued in use even to the present day by itinerant jugglers, pretending by their cajolery that it is an inexhaustible fountain of water ; that is—

“ To those whose pleasure is as great

In being cheated as to cheat ;—

and I have reason to believe it may be still in common use on the continent, as will be more fully shewn in the sequel.

"The general form, dimensions, and capacity (about a gallon), may be judged of from the drawing I have annexed.

"The orifice is (or was) three-eighths of an inch in diameter, and as the vessel may be conveniently held by the first two fingers, it may be readily closed by applying the thumb as a stopper; the bottom is slightly convex, about six inches in diameter, and closely perforated with small



Diameter 8 inches.

holes. The whole being immersed in water, the orifice remaining unclosed, the fluid, of course, rises and fills the vessel; now apply the thumb, and the fluid, sustained by the counterpoise of the atmosphere may be carried to any required locality, the thumb being again removed, the water descends in a spreading shower, thus performing the functions of the common water-pot; the shower may be suspended and reiterated, till the supply is exhausted.

"This utensil was thrown up from the excavation for a new sewer in Union-street, close to the western extremity of

my domicile, from a depth of some ten or twelve feet, not unaccompanied with *débris* of Roman fragments, on the 30th of October 1823. At first, I concluded it was Roman also, justified, as I then thought, by the classic line, '*Si situlam cepero illi puteo animam omnem intertrahero*'; but although Plautus might or might not have been acquainted with the same, or a very similar water-pot, I soon felt convinced, from due consideration of the *fabrique* and other circumstances, that I was wrong, and that its antiquity must be cut down by at least some ten or twelve centuries.

"Not very long after this, a curious little duodecimo volume, purporting to be a copious collection of '*HEROICAL DEVISES*', came into my possession, sadly mutilated it is true, and wanting both beginning and ending, so that there is no other clue to the date but the typography, which I take to be about 1620. Herein is this utensil 'as lively depicted as the deed were done.' The following explanation of the devise is appended, whereby it would appear that the same utensil was used as a badge, or cognizance, of Valentina (sometime duchess of Orleans), at Blois, in France, long before the date A.D. 1620.

"'Valentina of Milan, sometime dutchesse of Orleans, had great cause to passe her dayes in great heaviness and mourning, both for the death of her husband Lewis, brother to king Charles the Sixt, as also for the same king's unfortunate phrensie (whereof we spake before, in the handling of his armes, which used to come on him at certain times), and when it tooke

him, he knew not any of his friends, no not the queen his wife, but only this dutchesse Valentina, whom he called, when he was in this extremitie, his sister. Whereupon there was a rumour blowne abroad, that the duke, the father of this Valentina, having sometimes bene overladen with drinke, had caused some poyson, or charmed potion, to be given him; which report this Valentina tooke verie grievously, yea so grievously indeede, that in place of all consolation, and ease of her mourning, she used for her cognizance an earthen pitcher, in fashion like a water-pot, on the mouth whereof was the character of this letter S, signifying, perhaps, these words concerning the same dutches: *Solā sæpe seseipsā sollicitari, suspizaréq*: that is, 'being alone, shee accustomed to mourne and to sigh with herselfe'; together with these words subjoined, *Nil mihi præterea*:

Præterea mihi nil; which is, 'nothing remaineth to me—nothing have I more.' The which emblemes, with the like inscriptions, are to be seene described in many places in the Franciscan friers church at Bloyes, and in the same dutches chappell, where she lieth buried in a tombe of brasse, and also in the porch or entrie on every side of the quire of the same church.'

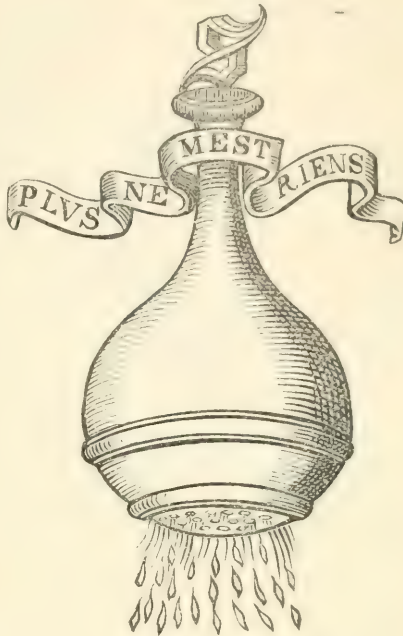
"There is, or used to be, an instrument in very common use, for taking samples from casks of wine, spirit, etc., the principle of action precisely similar to the above, and called a valinch, or valence.¹ I do not mean to assert the name is derived from Valentina, but it seems a curious coincidence, and peradventure equally valueless; it is, however, not unlikely our water-pot may have been called a *valence* in earlier times."

¹ See Maunder's "Treasury of Knowledge."

DEVISES.

Riens ne m'est plus, Plus ne m'est rien.

I have no more joy, no more comfort
remaineth to me.

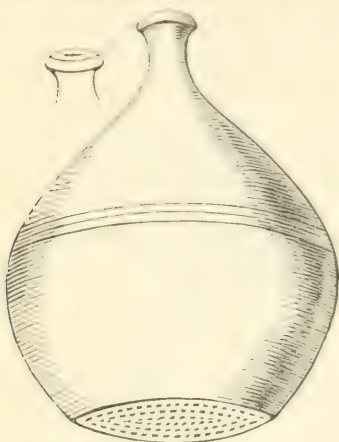


II

Valenti-

In illustration of Mr. Gwilt's remarks, is subjoined a sketch of a similar utensil, with the following observations by Mr. E. B. Price.

"The accompanying sketch represents one of two earthenware vessels, which were found in March 1843, in excavating for the foundation of a



Height, $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. ; diameter, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in.

building, at the corner of King's Arms-yard, east side of Moorgate-street. One is of a reddish clay, half-covered with a brown glaze; the other is of a darker colour, but similarly glazed. In each specimen, the orifice is about a quarter of an inch in diameter, and the bottom is perforated with a number of small holes.

"As vessels on the same principle, and of similar capacity, are now manufactured in tin, and sold for shower-baths, I ventured to suggest, in a communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, that these rude earthenware utensils might have been employed

for a similar purpose by our ancestors of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, but Mr. Gwilt's opinion as to their real purpose is doubtless the correct one. Mr. C. Roach Smith has, I believe, a similar specimen, found also in London."

JUNE 13.

Mr. Ernest Wilkins presented a rubbing of a brass in Kingston church, near Chale, Isle of Wight, with the following note addressed to Mr. Keet:—"The accompanying rubbing was taken from a brass at Kingston church, near Chale, Isle of Wight; the brass has been removed from its original position on a stone in the aisle of the church, and screwed on to a piece of boarding, fastened to the wall of the body of this ancient edifice. The manor-house near it (which with Kingston parish was in the possession of the Mewes family for three hundred years), now in the occupation of Mr. Morris, contains some very interesting oak carving; Mr. Morris has also an ancient oak table, nearly square, with a quotation from holy writ on it; it is furnished with four legs with carved oval enlargements, similar to that in the possession of Mr. Hardley, of Stenbury, Isle of Wight, and of which a drawing I believe has been exhibited to the members of the Archæological Association. I have no doubt Mr. Morris's table has been the altar table of the church. The stools formerly used for supporting coffins in the

church, also, have been removed, and are in the possession of a neighbouring cottager. Among some of the carvings in Mr. Morris's house, is a coat of arms, with the shield of this identical brass quartered with the arms of another individual (I believe the Worsley family): of this, I possess a drawing.

The inscription on the brass reads thus:—

“*Mr. Rycharde Melwys, whych decessyd the iij day of March, in the yere of our Lord God mcccc and xxvi.*”

The figure is that of a gentleman, in a furred gown with long sleeves, and behind him are his four sons in similar habit. Also a coat of arms, pale of seven; and on a chief, three crosses, *patée*, *or*.

Mr. John Dennett forwarded some medieval antiquities, consisting of a spur, spear-head, cross-bow bolts, and some arrow-heads, found by him at Carisbrook Castle.

“The proper name of one of these,” Mr. Dennett says, “is a ‘sheaf arrow,’ and is the weapon that wrought such terrific destruction, when the old English long-bow was under our Edwards and Henrys, as at the battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; and last, though not least, on the field of Towton, where more than thirty-six thousand Englishmen fell, under the heroic Margaret of Anjou. These arrows were packed in bundles of twenty-four each, whence their name ‘sheafs.’ They were also packed in chests; but in what numbers I do not know. I have had some better specimens found here, probably of 1077, and of Richard I and II, from which I had fac-similes made forty years ago, when I founded the ‘Carisbrooke Archers’ Society.’ I could then draw a bow of over eighty-pounds power; but, at length it broke, and I never could replace it: sixty-pounds strength being the utmost used in modern archery. In a neighbouring field I once pulled at a young man heaving at a well (to solve the doubts of a friend on the ranges of the ancient long-bow); my arrow pitched in the ground close by the side of his foot, at a measured distance of a hundred-and-ninety-two yards; my friend would guarantee no more lives for me; if I had given a hair’s breadth more elevation, I should have surely struck him through the body. I have before me an old list of munitions of war, remaining in this castle, in the custody of Richard Worsley, gentleman, captain of the said isle, September 14th, 1547:—chests of bows, xxi; chests of arrows, lix; bow-strings, jii bundles; coyles of lynte, dc; Morris’ pikes, d; javelines, c.xx; bills, dcc.i, etc.”

Upon Mr. Dennett’s exhibition, Mr. Keet observes as follows:—“It is a curious fact, that in the time of Henry VIII, the parliament complained of the disuse of the long-bow, heretofore the safeguard and defence of the kingdom, and the dread and terror of its enemies. The use of the bow was abolished in France by Louis XI, previous to which period, from the pro-

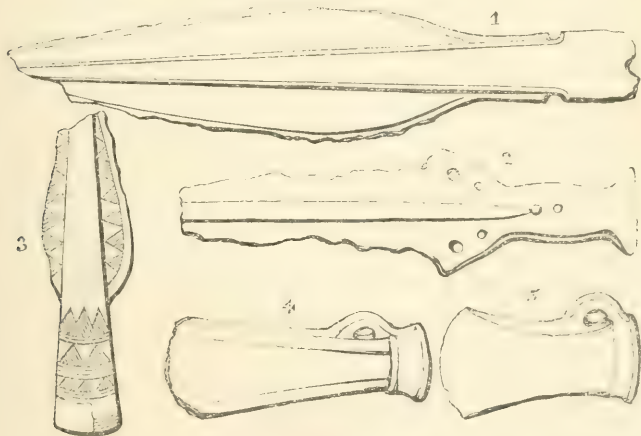
tection afforded by archers and bowmen, called *gens de marchaussée*, there were fewer robberies of travellers and carriages on the highways of France in *one year*, than took place in England in *a week*; the use of the bow and arrow, bolts, and darts, was succeeded by the halbert, pike, sword, etc., of the Swiss. Camden says, 'among the English artillery, archery challengeth the pre-eminence.' The battle of Lepanto witnessed the terrible execution by the archers. Shakespeare (*Henry V*, act iv, sc. viii) speaks of the 'master of the cross-bows,' Lord Rambures. And Carew observes, that beasts were suffered to run wild in woods and waste-grounds, where they were hunted and killed by cross-bows.¹ In some of the battles with the English, the French assisted themselves by the aid of cross-bowmen from Genoa. The English Chroniclers do not mention the use of archery until 1199, at which time Richard I was killed by an arrow, at the siege of Limoges. Edward III issued an order, in the fifteenth year of his reign, to the sheriffs of most of the English counties, to provide five hundred *white* bows, and five hundred bundles of arrows, for the then intended war against France; a few years after this, the sheriff of Gloucester is ordered to provide five hundred *painted*, as well as five hundred *white* bows. At the battle at Cressy, there were two thousand archers; and the victories at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, may be attributed to our archers. Fortescue says, 'the might of the realm of England standeth upon archers.' Indeed archery gave the English great advantage over both the French and Scots, the French depending chiefly on their men-at-arms, and the Scots on their pikemen; these were frequently thrown into disorder by flights of arrows a cloth-yard long, before they could approach their enemies. James I of Scotland passed a law that all his subjects should practise archery, from twelve years of age upwards; another act of Parliament in the reign of Elizabeth regulates the price of bows; another enacts, that bow-staves shall be imported from the Hans-towns, and the East. Richard III sent a thousand archers to the Duke of Bretagne. Great use was also made of the arrow at Bosworth Field. Charles I appears to have been an archer; a book called *The Bowman's Glory* was dedicated to him, and he issued a commission to the chancellor, lord mayor, and several of the privy-council, to prevent the fields near London being so inclosed as to 'interrupt the necessary and profitable exercise of shooting'; also, to lower the mounds where they prevented the view from one mark to another. In 1682 there was a magnificent cavalcade, and entertainment given by the Finsbury archers. Charles II was present. The most expert archers had the titles bestowed upon them, for the day or

¹ The cross-bow, or manu-balista, is supposed to be of Sicilian or Cretan origin, and was introduced into Europe by the Crusaders; but it was known in England as early as the Conquest. —P.

year, of duke of Shoreditch, marquis of Islington, etc. A silver badge, weighing twenty-five ounces, was made for, and worn by, the marshal of the fraternity. The earl of Essex issued a precept, dated 1643, for stirring up all well-affected people to raise a company of archers, for the service of the king and parliament."

Mr. C. Moore Jessop communicated a notice of the discovery of a series of Celtic weapons, in bronze, near Bilton, Yorkshire.

"The circumstances under which the weapons about to be described were discovered, do not present any very remarkable features, they having been, in the first instance, turned up by men engaged in draining, about twenty inches from the surface, in a field three-quarters of a mile N. by E. from Bilton, a village on the York and Weatherby road, towards the end of February 1848. As might be expected, no very accurate observations were then made; I was therefore invited by Mr. R. Fawcett, the proprietor, to make a closer examination of the site of discovery *in propria personâ*, on the twenty-third of December 1848; from which resulted the discovery of a bronze celt, that had been overlooked; and of evident traces of fire exhibited in the colour of the earth, which was clay, together with ashes, and charred fragments of oak timber. The series of weapons comprises fifteen separate articles; two of them being parts of swords, one of which is represented in the adjoining cut (fig. 2); seven spear-heads (see



1 and 3, spear-heads; 2, sword; 4 and 5, celts.—One-fourth of the original size.

fig. 1, 3); and the remaining six celts, (see fig. 4, 5): they are all finely patinated, and as a whole present an unusually interesting and characteristic collection illustrative of early art.

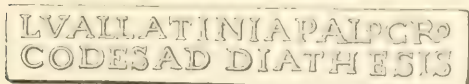
The portions of swords have each been broken off a few inches down the blade (see fig. 2), thus leaving the metallic part of the handle entire ; which has been covered on both sides with horn, or some similar substance, affixed by rivets, which, having become loose, have allowed the horn to move slightly each way, thus wearing away the metal ; they have left evident traces of the shape of the hilt, and likewise prove the weapons to have been long in use. The spear-heads are all of that shape to which the myrtle leaf may be regarded as the prototype ; but, all vary either in size, or some other slight particular. They are of very thin bronze, and appear to have been strengthened by some hard earthy composition used as a core, besides the wooden shaft extending almost to the point, fragments of which are still remaining in some of the sockets. A peculiarity in these spears is, that they have been attached to the shafts, each by a single pin, or rivet, passing transversely through, instead of being tied on by thongs passing through loops, or eyes cast in the metal for that purpose, a fixture observable in Etruscan, and other archaic spears discovered on the continent ; but not usually the case with those of Celtic origin, which I think almost universally possess the loops. One of the smaller of these heads, (fig. 3), is ornamented with the chevron pattern, so favourably regarded by the ancient Britons, and most of the remainder have ornamented lines either upon the blade, or socket.

The celts being all pretty much alike, of the full socketed shapes, with a loop at the side, do not call for any more particular description (see fig. 4, 5). It is of course highly presumptuous to attempt to affix a precise date to these relics ; but, we have endeavoured to be as near the truth as possible, in assigning them to a period not long antecedent to the Roman invasion : this opinion is based upon the examination of a very extensive collection of weapons of the early ages, including specimens of almost every known variety of ancient British implements ; a comparison with which renders it obvious, that the form of the celts is such as was in use at a comparatively late period ; which taken together with the improved mode of fastening the spear-heads to the shaft, and the beauty and clear execution of the heads themselves, points out a period towards the termination of the age of bronze weapons. The spears, as examples of casting, rank particularly high, no brass-founder of these latter times can possibly exceed the neat and good workmanship displayed in them."

These interesting objects are now deposited in the museum of Mr. Bateman, at Yolgrave house, Derbyshire.

Mr. Daniel Wilson, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, forwarded impressions from a Roman oculist's stamp, found at Tranent, near Edinburgh ; on which Mr. Roach Smith remarked, that it was one of a series now familiar to the Association (see *Journal*, vol. iv. pp. 280-286,

in which, it will be remembered, was published a four-sided example, found at Kenchester). On that occasion Mr. Smith cited several varieties of these stamps, found chiefly on the continent, and to the list may now be added the specimen forwarded by Mr. Wilson, which, with the exception of the name of the oculist, does not much differ from some of the others.



Roman medicine stamp.—Size of original.

One side indicates—"The evodes of T. Vallatinus, for cicatrices and granulations in the eyelids."

The word *evodes*, occurs in a stamp found a year or two ago at Neris, in France, published by M. Ch. Dufour, of Amiens.

The other side is for stamping the *crocodes*, a preparation of saffron, mentioned by Celsus and Pliny, for the *diathesis*,¹ which Marcellus Empiricus calls a complaint in the eyes. At Lyons was found the stamp of C. Cintusmus Blandus for evodes, for *aspritudines*, and at Jena, one of Phronimus for evodes, for *aspritudines* and *cicatrices*. It is singular that nearly all these stones are described of a greenish colour and hard; selected perhaps on account of their firmness.

Mr. Wilson, in a note to Mr. Roach Smith, thus observes:—"It is a stamp cut in hone stone, a parallelogram, with a slight projection at each end, as you see in the accompanying pencil outline. The inscription is cut reverse, as you will perceive, evidently designed to be used as a stamp. It was found at Tranent, a small town about ten miles east of Edinburgh, but I am not aware under what circumstances. Roman bronzes, coins, culinary vessels, etc. have frequently been found in East Lothian. We have in the museum a curious bronze, a female figure, the base of which is a coin of Trajan, to which it has been soldered as a stand.

"Tranent is a place of great antiquity. Its name, originally *Travernent*, is believed to be derived from *trer*, or *trera*, and *neut*, British words, the *hamlet on the Ravine*. An ancient church stood there, belonging to the abbey of Newbattle, a Cistercian monastery, founded by David I — A.D.

¹ Diathesis can only imply a particular state of the body disposing to any disease, and not mean the disease itself.—P.

1140. Tranent was one of the first places, if not the very first, where coal was worked in Scotland, under the direction of the monks of Newbattle."

JUNE 27.

Mr. J. H. Hearn, of Newport, Isle of Wight, communicated to the secretary as follows:—"In looking over some old papers a few days since, I found a small *half-sheet*, which on examination proved to be an inventory of the plate, vestments, and furniture of Newport church, and although I have no doubt such inventories are so common as to render the present uninteresting, there is one part sufficiently so to me, as to induce me to call your attention to it, and I shall be pleased if you find the enclosed copy of the paper worth your perusal.

"The part of the document which appears to me curious, is that which sets forth the application of the eighteen pounds provided for the 'nine goodly lights,' to 'provide for what malt and other necessities for their ales, whereby their lights are maintained.'

"In my ignorance of the customs of our ancestors, I cannot imagine how malt and ale could be necessities for maintaining light, and should feel much obliged by any information, as such will also explain the curious proviso in the lease of the church-house, at Whitwell, mentioned at page 210 of sir R. Worsley's Isle of Wight. The following is the inventory:—

Inventorium Bonorum Capella Scti Thomæ Mart. de Newport. Imprimis:

A pyx of sylver, anoder of laten.

A crosse of sylver, and oder crosses convenient.

viiij. chalices with corporas plenteth.

A censar of sylver, and two laten censars.

ii crewettes of sylver, and odur crewettes—none lacke.

A sylver pax.

Vestimentes bothe sewtes, and odur vestimentes, with honeste copes bothe for every day, holy dayse, and principal altar clothes, bothe dyaper and playn—non lack, and ther wer three alturs moo.

Three messe bokes, and odur moo of lesse price.

Antiphonars two, very goude, and odur moo, *i. e.*, other more, of lesse price.

A goud graylle, and two moo, that don great dase.

Four processioners, very goude.

A manualle, gret nede wer to have anodur in that place.

Three surplusses, with a rochet to.

Two laten stenderdes.

Five laten candelstickes for altares.

A fante welle locked.

The crysmatory undur lock and key.

Five baner clothes new, bysyde old clothes, and banerres for them.

A lampe brenying night and day afore the sacrament in the quere, the which lampe hathe thirteen pounds a year to help to mayntein it.

A temple cloth, with other convenient cloths for the altares.

The rood, and other images in time of Lent.

Nine goudely lights in that chapel maintained by devoicion, every lyght hathe two stewardes, and every steward to occupye that office two yer, and every yer a new stewarde chosen, and so there be a new steward and a olde, the which stewardes have in their handes xxs. or thereuppon betwext them, nodur to buy nor sell withhout, but to provyde for what malt and odor necessities for their ales, whereby their lyghtes are mainteined, and to by wax, all to the laude of God and that chapelle, the which stewardes every yer gyff acompte of ther ale, both of incrementes and sacramentes, with good suertes for every steward.

These byn dettes.

John Eve Barbour owythe 13s. 4d. the whiche Moses Trent gaff to the chirche.

John Makett owythe 16£. the which William Bolton dyd bequeth to the chirche.

John Dyngley owithe 4s. for my lady Borman.

Thomas Hamond owythe 4s. for a cross.

William Borrell owithe 18s. 4d.

John Bercom owythe 15s. 2d.

Thomas Hamond owithe 30s. 4d.

T. Sygars and John Flemyng for John Fylatour 6s. 8d.

John Garryn owith 2s. 8d.

Mr. Blyth, of Shipmeadow House, Bungay, addressed the following to Mr. C. Roach Smith ;—" At length I have a little matter, which although not strictly appertaining to archæology, yet being a branch of antiquarian study, may, I think, prove interesting to you, and perhaps to some of the members of the Association, especially to all who feel interested in investigating the popular superstitions of their own land, and tracing them to their source.

" Having promised, during the past winter, to give two lectures on the customs of the ancient Britons, and their remains, I was led to inquire whether there were any remarkable stones in the neighbourhood, and speaking of the ancient custom of passing persons through or under *tolmens*, to cure diseases, a man who superintends the manufacturing of



shoes in the house, told me that he knew a youth of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who had been passed through a slit made in a young *ash-tree* for the cure of a rupture.¹ I immediately remembered to have read somewhere, whether in Borlase's *History of Cornwall*, Toland's *Druids*, or some other work of the kind, that the practice of passing children through slits in trees prevailed in the west of England; and never having heard of so singular a practice in my native county, I thought I would investigate the matter further. While lecturing in April last, at Bungay, I alluded to this fact, as having occurred in the immediate neighbourhood, and the chairman stopped me to confirm my statement, saying, that he had heard of the practice. This evening I saw the grandmother of the boy, who, though not present at the ceremony alluded to, gave me full directions for its due performance, feeling perfectly persuaded that the boy is entirely indebted to his having been passed through the tree for his present perfect freedom from any weakness or inconvenience arising from the rupture with which he was born, and at the same time expressed her gratitude to God for having provided such means for the cure of similar unfortunate children, and I believe imagined that I was making the inquiry for the purpose of testing its efficacy.

"In order to effect a successful cure, the ceremony must take place on the first morning of May, precisely at sunrise; there must be four persons assisting, two bachelors and two maidens; two of them must hold the tree open, a slit having been made in a very young ash for the purpose, thus:—an axe or other tool is employed to cut a long slit (perpendicularly) completely through the trunk, beginning at a short distance from the head, and nearly reaching to the bottom, when, the two persons selected, placing themselves one on one side and one on the other, pull the slit open, while the other two pass the child through three or four times, alternately, one passing the child one way and one the other. As soon as the ceremony has been performed, the sides of the tree are pressed together, and bound with a withe or band till they become united; this reuniting of the separated parts of the tree appears to be absolutely necessary to the completion of the cure. You will perceive, from the rough sketch (which accompanies this paper), that the parts of the tree through which the child I am alluding to was passed, have never completely united, and yet the lad is now free from rupture, thus proving to these poor, ignorant, and superstitious persons, that the growing together of the tree has had nothing whatever to do with his cure. But then, the tree must not be cut down, and as all the necessary parts of the ceremony were

¹ Mr. Pettigrew has given an account of this practice, and references to its frequent adoption, as stated by Grose, sir John Cullam (of Suffolk), White of Selborne, and others. The

ash-tree has been very generally preferred for superstitious practices.—See "On Superstitions connected with the History and Practice of Medicine and Surgery", p. 75.

performed, and the tree still stands, I suppose it would be useless attempting to convince either the mother or any of the poor boy's friends, that nature, and a naturally good constitution, with perhaps careful and tender nursing, has had more to do with his recovery than the tree. The boy's grandfather was present, and slit the tree."

JULY 11.

Mr. W. H. Black exhibited a quantity of Roman denarii, forwarded to him by Mr. James Synnock, of Rayleigh, Essex. They had been ploughed up during the present year in a field called "Fish Ponds", in the parish of Rayleigh, about three quarters of a mile north of the town of Rayleigh.

At the request of the Council, Mr. C. Roach Smith examined the coins, and prepared the following descriptive catalogue:—

ROMAN DENARII FOUND NEAR RAYLEIGH, ESSEX.

<i>Antoninus Pius.</i>	<i>Reverses.</i>	No. of Specimens.
TR. POT. COS. II.	A female figure standing holding an olive branch and a cornucopia	1
<i>Commodus.</i>		
<i>Obv.</i>	Head of Commodus in a lion's skin.	
	<i>Rev.</i> HERCVL. ROMAN. AVG., in three lines, divided by a club within a wreath	1
<i>Crispina.</i>		
VENVS. FELIX.	Venus Victrix seated	1
<i>Clodius Albinus.</i>		
MINER. PACIF. COS. II.	Minerva standing	1
<i>Severus.</i>		
RESTITUTOR. URBIS.	A figure sacrificing	1
P.M. . . . COS. III. PP.	A female figure with branch and hasta	1
FORTVN. REDVC.	Fortune seated	1
COS. III. P.P.	Victory standing	1
IVSTITIA.	Figure of Justice, seated	1
P.M. TR. P. XI. COS. III. P. P.	A naked male figure holding ears of corn and a patera; by his side a basket of fruits	2
VOTA. SVSCEPTA. XX.	The emperor sacrificing	1
LIBERALITAS. AVG. VI.	Type of Liberality, standing	1
		9
<i>Caracalla.</i>		
SECVRIT. PERPETVA.	Pallas, standing	1
P.M. TR. P. COS. P. P.	Rome, seated	1
P.M. TR. P. II. COS. II. PP.	The same	1
P.M. TR. P. XIII. COS. III. PP.	Peace marching. The obverse has the title of <i>Brit. (Britannicus)</i>	1
P.M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. P. P.	A female figure holding two military standards	1
FIDES. MILITVM.	A female holding two military standards	4

PART. MAX. I.....	A trophy	-	-	-	-	1
PROVID. DEORVM.	Type of Providence	-	-	-	-	2
LIBERTAS. AVG.	Type of Liberty	-	-	-	-	1
LAETITIA. PVBL.	Female, holding a garland and a rudder	-	-	-	-	2
MONETA. AVGG.	The goddess Moneta, standing	-	-	-	-	1
FORTYNAE. REDVCI.	Fortuna, standing	-	-	-	-	1
SALVS. ANTONINI. AVG.	A figure, standing, feeding a serpent from a patera	-	-	-	-	1
VICTOR. ANTONINI. AVG.	Victory, marching, with wreath and palm branch	-	-	-	-	2
VIRTVS. AVGVSTOR.	Rome, seated	-	-	-	-	1
PONTIF. TR. P. VIII. COS. II.	A soldier, with shield and spear, standing	-	-	-	-	1
VICTORIA. AVG.	Victory, marching	-	-	-	-	1
P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. PP.	The sun, standing	-	-	-	-	1
						24

<i>Geta.....</i>	PRINCIPI. IVVENTVTIS.	Geta in a military dress standing by the side of a trophy	-	-	-	1
	NOBILITAS.	A female figure holding a spear in her right hand, and a small figure in her left	-	-	-	2
						3

Julia Domna.

DIANA. LVCIFERA.	Diana holding a torch	-	-	-	1
FORTYNAE. FELICI.	Type of Fortune	-	-	-	1
PIETAS. PUBLICA.	A female figure, standing	-	-	-	2
PIETAS. AVGG.	A veiled figure, sacrificing	-	-	-	1
SAECULI. FELICITAS.	A woman suckling a child	-	-	-	1
IVNO.	Juno and her attributes	-	-	-	1
VESTA.	Vesta, seated	-	-	-	1
CERES.	Ceres, seated	-	-	-	1
VENERI. GENETRICI.	Female standing with hasta	-	-	-	1
					10

Diadumenianus.

PRINC. IVVENTVTIS.	A military figure, and three standards	-	1
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Elagabalus.

ABUNDANTIA. AVG.	Type of Abundance	-	-	-	1
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. PP.	The Sun marching	-	-	-	1
VICTORIA. AVG.	A winged Victory bearing a zone, from which are suspended two shields	-	-	-	1
<i>Each of these coins has a star in the field.</i>					

Julia Soemias.

VENVS. CAELESTIS.	A female standing, holding an apple and the					
	<i>hasta pura</i> ; in the field, a star	-	-	-	-	1
The same.	A female as above, seated ; before her a child	-	-	-	-	2

Julia Mosa.

PIETAS. AVG.	Type of Piety, standing before an altar	-	-	-	-	1
SAECVLI. FELICITAS.	A female standing, holding a caduceus and patera over an altar	-	-	-	-	1
						<hr/> 2

Severus Alexander.

P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	A soldier with a spear and an olive branch	-	-	-	-	1
P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P.	A military figure standing, holding a globe and a spear	-	-	-	-	1
P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P.	A soldier marching, and carrying a trophy	-	-	-	-	1
P. M. TR. P. VI. COS. II. P. P.	Peace marching	-	-	-	-	1
P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. PP.	The Sun standing	-	-	-	-	2
P. M. TR. P. XI. COS. III. P. P.	The Sun marching	-	-	-	-	1
ANNOXA. AVG.	A female bearing a cornucopia, holding ears of corn over a modius	-	-	-	-	2
FIDES. MILITUM.	Female seated	-	-	-	-	1
MARS. ULTOR.	Mars, marching	-	-	-	-	1
PROVIDENTIA. AVG.	Type of Providence	-	-	-	-	2
LIBERALITAS. AVG.	Type of Liberality	-	-	-	-	1
LIBERTAS. AVG.	Type of Liberty	-	-	-	-	1
VICTORIA. AVGVSTI.	Victory inscribing a shield, vot. x.	-	-	-	-	1
VIRTVS. AVG.	Pallas standing	-	-	-	-	1
The same.	Figure seated on armour, holding an olive branch	-	-	-	-	1
						<hr/> 18

Julia Mamaea.

FELICITAS. PVBLICA.	Female seated, holding a caduceus and cornucopia	-	-	-	-	1
JVNO. AVGVSTA.	Juno, standing	-	-	-	-	1
VESTA.	Vesta, seated	-	-	-	-	2
						<hr/> 4

Maximinus.

P. M. TR. P. P. P.	A soldier with spear, between two military standards	-	-	-	-	5
P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P.	The same	-	-	-	-	3
FIDES. MILITUM.	A woman, holding two military standards	-	-	-	-	2
PAX. AVGVSTI.	Peace standing	-	-	-	-	3
PROVIDENTIA. AVG.	Type of Providence	-	-	-	-	1
SALVS. AVGVSTI.	Salus seated	-	-	-	-	1
VICTORIA. AVG.	Victory marching	-	-	-	-	2
						<hr/> 17

Pupienus.

P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P.	A female standing, holding a flower and the hasta	-	-	-	-	1
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Gordianus the Third.

AETERNITATI. AVG.	The Sun	-	-	-	-	1
AEQVITAS. AVG.	Equity, standing	-	-	-	-	1

JOVI. STATORI.	Jupiter standing	-	-	-	-	1
P.M.TR.P.III.COS.II.P.P.	A military figure, with javelin and globe	-	-	-	-	1
Idem.	Seated figure with branch	-	-	-	-	1
P.M.TR.P.III.COS.II.P.P.	As the preceding	-	-	-	-	2
SAECVLI.FELICITAS.	A military figure standing, holding a javelin and globe	-	-	-	-	1
						<hr/> 8

Philip.

AETERNITAS.AVGG.	An elephant	-	-	-	-	1
AEQVITAS.AVGG.	Equity, standing	-	-	-	-	1
VIRTV.AVG.	Female, galeated, standing	-	-	-	-	1
						<hr/> 3

Philip Jun.

PRINCIPI.IVVENTVTIS.	A military figure, standing	-	-			
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Otacilia Severa.

PIETAS.AVGG.	A woman with infant, standing	-	-	-	-	2
PIETAS.AVGUSTAE.	Piety, standing	-	-	-	-	1
						<hr/> 3

Trajanus Decius.

VICTORIA.AVG.	Victory, marching	-	-	-	-	1
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Etruscilla.

PVDICITIA.AVG.	A veiled figure, seated	-	-	-	-	1
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Q. Her. Mes. Decius.

PRINCIPI.IVVENTVTIS.	A youthful figure holding a spear or javelin, and in right hand a baton	-	-	-	-	1
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Total ... 116

Mr. C. Warne, of Milbourne St. Andrews, exhibited a cast from an antique seal found near Sherborne. The figure is that of St. Lawrence, beneath which is placed a crosier. The inscription reads: HER COYNRAET ✠ VAN ✠ HAMPE.

Mr. Hargrove forwarded a sketch of a pair of objects in copper, somewhat in the shape of shoes, which, in November last, had been found two feet from the surface of the earth, in the north-east suburb of York. These objects, the use of which is not very obvious, are of thin copper, eight inches in length, and three to four inches in breadth. The copper is turned

up all round, except at one extremity, and the edge of the rim is perforated with small holes. Mr. Hargrove suggests the probability of their



ently carried in one's waistcoat pocket. The material is silver-gilt. It was discovered at the depth of three feet, in digging a grave, on the site of an old foot-path, where no interment had taken place for many years. As no motive can be assigned for burying such an article with a dead body, I am disposed to imagine that it must have fallen from the person of a bystander into an open grave during a funeral.

"On the inside of the tongue-scraper the following legend is neatly engraved: IHS * HELP * ME * DIO. HERST. On the corresponding face of the ear-pick, the name only is repeated, ✠ DIO * HERSTE. The mark of contraction over the IHS could not be shewn in my sketch.

"In the parish register of Alfriston, is the following entry, referring to the original possessor of this interesting relic:—

"Buryalls A^o. Dni. 1584.

Dennis Herst, buried the xiiij of februarye.'

"The article is clearly of a considerably earlier date, and was probably manufactured some thirty or forty years before the period of Herst's decease. It is in the possession of Mr. James Richardson, parish clerk of Alfriston."

SEPTEMBER 26.

Mr. Tupper exhibited a bronze spear-head, sixteen inches in length, found seven feet and a half deep in peat, with portions of fir trees, whilst digging the great fen at Upwell, Cambridgeshire. It is now in the possession of the rev. G. J. Huddleston, of Tinworth, Hants, who states, that the bones of beavers, the antlers of deer, and other animal remains, are often at the same depth as where the spear-head lay; and, nearer the surface, Roman pottery is occasionally met with.

Mr. Thomas C. Brown communicated a notice of the discovery, during the past month, of a Roman tessellated pavement, in Dyer-street, Cirencester. It had been laid open during the progress of excavations for a sewer. By the influence of earl Bathurst, this pavement has been preserved; and the Council are happy to observe, that Messrs. Buckman and Newmarch, of Cirencester, intend publishing engravings of this and other pavements, and other remains for which Cirencester is distinguished.

Mr. Smith read a note from Mr. Grove Lowe, announcing the discovery of Roman foundations near St. Michael's church, at Old Verulam, together with a coarse kind of tessellated flooring, twenty-one feet by ten feet. Mr. Smith also read a note from Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, relative to the discovery of Saxon sepulchral remains on Stow Heath, Suffolk. They consisted of spear-heads, bosses of shields, and other objects, in iron; together with beads in glass, amber, and coloured clays. Unluckily, Mr. Warren did not hear of the discovery, which was made by workmen digging gravel, until the various objects had become dispersed. Among those





CHÂTEAU DE VERNAY

Trésor de la cathédrale de
 Saint-Étienne de Caen

Trésor de la cathédrale de
 Saint-Étienne de Caen

Trésor de la cathédrale de
 Saint-Étienne de Caen

which he succeeded in securing, were some small brass Roman coins of Valens and Gratian, which were perforated near the rim for wearing as personal ornaments.

Mr. James Brown exhibited some Roman brass coins, in the possession of Mrs. Cliffe, and Mrs. Bateman, of Watergate-street, Chester, which had been dug up sometime since, behind the houses Nos. 5 and 6, of the same street. They are of Faustina the Younger, Julia Mamaea, Philip, and Claudius Gothicus.

Mr. Norris, of South Petherton, exhibited a small silver Roman die, in the shape of a human figure in a sitting posture. It resembles a set of four, in the museum of lord Albert Denison, which were found in a tomb near Marseilles, and are figured in the frontispiece to a volume recently printed by his lordship for private circulation, entitled *Wanderings in Search of Health*. Mr. Norris could not tell where the specimen in his collection was found.



Mr. Burkitt exhibited a quantity of Roman antiquities from Springhead, Kent. They consisted of coins of great variety, similar to those exhibited by Mr. C. R. Smith; a list of which was published in the *Journal*, vol. i, page 155; hair-pins, fibulae, a portion of a bracelet of an elegant pattern, a key-ring, and other objects, all of bronze. A selection of these, with querns, and a small sepulchral urn of fine black ware, have been published by the Antiquarian Etching Club, the plate of which has been kindly lent to illustrate this notice. The fragments of querns found at Springhead are very numerous; of these, two, lately found, are shewn in the plate; they are chiefly in pudding-stone. For comparison, and with a view to collect types of these querns, which are so often found on the sites of Roman stations, portions of two, in the Chester museum, are here



FRAGMENTS OF QUERNS OR HAND MILLS.

shewn. They were found near Conway. The urn, shewn in the plate,

is of the peculiar studded kind, now well known by the term "Upchurch"; it contained human bones. It is much to be regretted, that the proprietor of the field adjoining Springhead, has not made excavations where the foundations of houses are known to exist.¹

Mr. C. Roach Smith read a letter, dated July 17th, from Mr. J. R. Smith, of Cowes, Isle of Wight, relative to some mural paintings discovered in Northwood church, near Cowes, during the summer, that had been very thoughtlessly and improperly re-whitewashed. From Mr. J. R. Smith's communication we learn, that the subject of the painting, or of a portion of it, was obviously the Last Judgment. As it is reported to be of good execution, and as these mural paintings illustrate religious feelings and notions in the middle ages, and are, moreover, often curious as works of art, the Council much regret that such irresponsibility during the reparation of churches should be tolerated. The publicity given to the discovery of the interesting paintings in Shorwell church, in the same island, by means of Mr. Barton's drawings, and Mr. Fairholt's paper, published in the *Journal*, it was hoped, would have secured future discoveries some attention and consideration.

Communications were received from Mr. Ernest Wilkins, Mr. J. Adkins Barton, and Mr. John Henry Hearn, of Newport, Isle of Wight, relative to the discovery of a quantity of silver coins, on the property of Mr. Perress, of Newport; and specimens of the coins, forwarded by Mr. Hearn and Mr. Wilkins, were exhibited.

Subjoined is Mr. Barton's account, dated September 22nd:—"Last Saturday week, an Irish labourer, whilst digging for a drain, struck his pick-axe into a mass, which, appearing to him unlike the other soil, he took up a shovelful, and discovered what he imagined to be 'gun wads'; his comrades, who flocked around him, soon undeceived him, and a general scramble took place, each filling his pockets with what he could secure, whilst the unfortunate finder, not having a pocket to put anything into, went without any; for Mr. Perress, his employer, being within a few feet of the spot where the discovery took place, immediately claimed the whole, had what remained secured, but vainly endeavoured to recover the rest. Andrew Donovan, the Irishman, afterwards informed me, that the mass, when he took it up, would have filled a gallon measure,—and it must, in consequence, have included several thousand coins; but at present about three thousand only remain in Mr. Perress's possession. Subsequently, the rev. Mr. Kell determined to examine the spot and the adjacent ground carefully, and on two or three occasions I accompanied him. Within six inches of the coins lay the piece of ware, of which I have sent you the

¹ The Council regret exceedingly to announce the loss of an active and old member, in the death of Mr. Silvester, of Springhead, which has occurred since the receipt of this notice.

painting; as also a piece of glass resembling the foot of a vase, and of which subsequently we found the mouth or neck, a mere fragment, but indicating a graceful form, of a pale green hue. About six or eight feet off, farther in the garden, were discovered numerous fragments of the different wares which were imported into this country from Flanders, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and amongst others a very nearly complete bellarmine, or longbeard pot, of the species described by Mr. Chaffers, in a late number of the *Journal*. In the immediate vicinity of the coins, a great quantity of bones, and teeth of different animals, were found, to the amount of two or three hundredweight; about six feet from the spot, in a westerly direction, Mr. Kell and I found a wild boar's tusk, and a stag's horn, nearly perfect, which had been shed by the animal in its wild state, and which must have lain many centuries where we found it; and near it, two fragments of a thin black ware, of very peculiar but excellent manufacture,—these two fragments were nearly three feet apart, and yet, when put together, most closely and exactly fitted each other, forming a larger piece. I may mention also, that we found a brick of very peculiar form, unlike anything of the present time, and apparently of a finer or more carefully compounded nature than our brick: its dimensions are—length, nine inches; breadth, four inches and three quarters; thickness, one inch and three quarters. And now for the coins. They are all sterlings or pennies; and comprise coins of Henry III, Edward I, II, and III, of England; Alexander III, and John Baliol, of Scotland, Robert Bruce also; and numerous coins of dukes and counts of the neighbouring countries: of these latter, having but little knowledge, nor any works of reference at hand for their identification, I have not attempted more than a general survey. I have, however, discovered two of John duke of Brabant, a very perfect piece of John king of Bohemia and Poland, and one bearing on the obverse Guido Episcopus, with a crowned head. I have also made out the initial letter of several—J. Comes, R. Comes, G. Comes, or Dux or Dominus; and on the reverses of these, generally Moneta, with the name of the city. One fact I have discovered, that the coins stated by Ruding to be counterfeit sterlings of Edward, are veritable coins of a foreign count. There are, perhaps, a dozen of these pieces; and from the examination of the whole, the name and title can be clearly made out, Galces, or Galcie Comes, Pore. The reverse unintelligible to me, unless it be Moneta Ovavue. The English coins have on the obverse, Edw, or Edwa, or Edwar, or Edward, R. Ang. Dni Hyb., as usual. Of the first and second, there are by far the greatest numbers, and but very few of the whole name; they are remarkably perfect coins generally, and appear to have been but little used at the time of their deposit, especially those with Edward at full length. I have found two of Edward III, with the title, Dux Aquitanie, which are beautifully perfect, and look as if struck

but yesterday. One coin has Edw. Rex Ang., etc.; and I have found but this one as yet, with that title, so placed; and it is one of the most worn and obliterated coins, which induces me to attribute it certainly to Edward I. The mintages are London, Canterbury, Durham, York, Lincoln, Bristol, St. Edmundsbury, Newcastle, Chester, Berwick, Kingston, Dublin, and Waterford; but none of Cork, Exeter, or Reading. Perhaps something new may turn up, for there are still three or four hundred to be examined. Of these, London is by far the most numerous class; Canterbury next (seven out of every ten coins being either one or the other); then Durham, St. Edmund's, Berwick, Newcastle, York, Bristol, Lincoln, and last, Chester and Kingston (of the former about half a dozen, and the latter only one, and that but a very imperfect piece). As to the time of deposit, it appears to me to be certainly ascertained by this examination, as having been made in the thirteenth year of Edward III, when the French landed in the Isle of Wight and committed great ravages. There are clearly coins of the three Edwards, from the immense variety of their lettering and execution; and as Edward III was proclaimed king, and created duke of Aquitaine, in his father's lifetime, I think there can be no doubt, that the coins bearing Edward at full length, are his, and that they were then struck as a compliment to him; for during the first six years of his reign, he was kept by his mother and her paramour, the earl of Marche, in such a state of subjection, that it is very probable no coinage of his took place during that period; and as the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign produced a new series of coins, it seems probable, also, that none were struck in the intervening period. In this conclusion, I may be wrong, but still it seems to me a natural one, and borne out by the coins themselves, for there are *very few* out of this large number which have the name of Edward; and the great similarity of the letters and the execution, to those bearing the title of Dux Aquitanie, prove them to have been struck at the same time, or about the same period. The letters are smaller and neater in their style than those which have Edw. R. Ang., indicating a new fashion or mode; and yet they approximate to others which have Edwar, as if the change had been gradual and a work of time.

"To Mr. Perress we are much indebted for his polite and ready acquiescence, in the request made to examine the coins; and for myself, I feel greatly indebted to his kindness, for, unwell as I have been during the last few days, without it I must have been brought to a sudden conclusion of my labours."

The following letter, dated September 15th, is from Mr. Hearn:—
 "Although our friend Mr. Wilkins has written you on the subject of the coins found at Mr. Perress's, as probably Mr. Barton has also done, a line from me on the subject may not be unworthy your notice, as I believe I have made a more extensive and careful investigation than either of those

gentlemen who have written you have done—having carefully inspected about seven hundred. They consist principally of the pennies of Edward I, II, and III, of the mints of London, Canterbury, Durham, York, Berwick, Newcastle, St. Edmund's, Lincoln, and Bristol, in England; and Dublin and Waterford in Ireland; and one half-penny of the London mint. As you have already been apprized, coins of Alexander of Scotland are intermixed; and I have seen one, from amongst those carried away by the workmen, of Ludovicus of France. There are also some few others which I am unable to decipher. Generally speaking, all the coins are in excellent preservation; but many of them have had much more wear than others; and from this fact, as well as from the variety of the mints, I would infer they were the property of a private individual, rather than of the crown; and from the date, have no doubt they were buried upon the alarm of the attack on Yarmouth (Eremue) and Newtown (Francheville) by the French in the month of August, 2 Rich. II; and the depositor, with the rest of the inhabitants of Newport, having been killed in the attack on Newport made by the same party of French, the secret of the deposit was unknown. From what I have learnt of the quantity taken by the workmen, there must have been quite five thousand coins in the hoard; and as a proof that the deposit was hastily made, it would appear that they were not inclosed in any box or vessel, the only separation from the earth consisting of a very thin coating of half-slacked lime or mortar. The weight of the coins varies from eighteen to twenty-two grains."

OCTOBER 10.

Mr. C. Roach Smith communicated a letter addressed to him by the rev. Edmund Kell, of Newport, Isle of Wight, enclosing some particulars relating to discoveries of early Saxon antiquities in the island, which, he believes, have only been published in the local papers, and not in detail. They will form a useful appendix to and commentary on Mr. Dennett's able paper on the same subject, published in the volume of the proceedings of the Winchester Congress.

Mr. Kell writes:—"I transmit you an account of the opening of a barrow on Arreton Down, kindly extracted by Thomas Cooke, esq., of Newelose, from his memorandum book. The party he refers to was composed of the rev. J. Fullagar, of Chichester; James Cull, esq., now of Canada; John Brown, esq., of East-street, Wareham; rev. Daniel Tyerman (deceased); and himself. The more curious of the articles found were deposited in the museum at Newport, of which I am the curator. John Dennett, esq., of Carisbrook, visited the spot a few days after the excavation, and informed me he has furnished you with some other particulars.

"From memorandum book, April 4, 1815. Went with a party of the

Society of the Natural History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight to open a barrow on Arreton Down. We took with us seven men, and commenced digging at the east and west sides, in order to make a cut through the barrow in that direction about four feet wide. The men at the east side soon came to a skeleton, which, when taken out, and fitted together, was found complete, with the exception of the feet, which were lost in digging. It was lying on its back, about two feet from the surface; the feet were to the east. It appeared to be the skeleton of a man about six feet high; teeth quite perfect. Under the back was found the blade of an iron knife or dagger, but, from one edge being thicker than the other, it appeared to be a knife, four inches long, three-fourths of an inch wide, with a sharp point.

"Soon after, the party at the west side found a skeleton of a child, about nine or ten years of age. The new teeth were just ready to displace the old ones from their sockets. Near it was found a small circular brass buckle with a tongue, and an iron instrument similar to the one found before. When we came to the centre, a large hewn stone was discovered, about two feet from the surface. It was about three feet thick by eighteen inches wide, with a hole, one foot square, cut through it; it was thought this might have served as the socket of a flag-staff.¹ Under the stone was found a hollow, about three feet deep, and one foot in diameter. It was circular, and built round with small stones. It contained small pieces of charcoal. Here ended our search for the day.

"The next day several more skeletons were found, with similar iron instruments, of different sizes, under them, with the head of a spear, about seven inches long, with a groove to contain the handle; also a small bone comb, much like the small tooth-combs now in use, with a row of teeth each side. An iron buckle was also found, without a tongue; also a small piece of brass, about one inch by half an inch, which appeared to be attached to the comb. From a barrow nearly adjoining, which some workmen were digging into to get the stones it contained, we obtained part of an iron battle-axe; a pair of brass tweezers, like those now in use, and in excellent preservation; also the head of a spear. They also found

¹ Mr. Kell remarks :—"A more probable opinion respecting the use of this stone, is, that it served as the socket of a gibbet, which stood on this mound till about seventy years ago, when it was removed by the rector of Arreton, as being unsightly to the neighbourhood. Mrs. Barton, now in her eighty-sixth year, daughter of Mr. Rayner, who lived in the parish, told me she well remembered seeing this gibbet in her younger days. It was

erected in 1730, for a murderer of the name of Moorey, who had cut off his grandson's head, and buried him in a wood. While burning the clothes of the murdered boy, to conceal the deed, some sparks fell on the thatch, and fired the cottage. The house built on its site is still called the 'Burnt House'. With a singular mixture of superstition, the wretched culprit had placed a Bible under the buried head of his victim."

several urns, made of coarse pottery, containing calcined bones, but the urns broke to pieces in getting them out.

“ The barrow we opened consisted of vegetable earth, mixed with a few flints, evidently the produce of the adjoining downs. The skeletons were all found about two or three feet from the surface; the feet were in a direction veering from north-east to south-east. The large bones were very firm and hard. A sort of white mouldy substance surrounded the bones, apparently decomposed animal matter. Several teeth of horses and tusks of hogs were found. There were seven skeletons of different ages; one a child, about two years old. All the bones were thrown by us into a hole in the centre, and covered. They were all found apparently in the exact state in which they were buried originally. Near every skeleton, generally under the back, was found one of the iron instruments resembling the blade of a knife; the brass buckle was near the child of nine years old. The spear-head was under the same skeleton, with one of the knives. On a review of the whole, it appears that the mound in question was raised as a family burial place, as skeletons of all ages were discovered in it. It also appears, from the cavity in the centre, and the pieces of charcoal, that some sort of sacrifice had been offered there.

“ I was requested to draw up a paper on the subject, which I did, and sent one copy to the president, sir Leonard Holmes, and another to the secretary, the rev. D. Tyerman, for the use of the Society.”

The following letter, which relates to the same subject, has also been kindly communicated by the rev. Mr. Kell, from a desire to bring together into an accessible depository, facts collected at various times by different antiquarian inquirers on the barrow remains in the Isle of Wight, not solely for the value of the researches themselves, but also in aid of future investigations. The letter is addressed by Mr. J. Skinner to sir Leonard Holmes, bart., of Westover, at that time president of a society instituted for promoting a knowledge of the natural history and antiquities of the Isle of Wight;—

“ Carneston, Aug. 26, 1818.

“ Dear sir Leonard,—I take the opportunity of forwarding, by a box I send to Rookely, the memoranda of our operations on Chessel Downs. This summer's campaign has entirely confirmed me in the opinion I had before formed, that the remains we had examined are those of the Romanized Britons who occupied the spot during the period of the Lower Empire, previous to the invasions of the Saxons, as the weapons and ornaments we there found, such as circular clasps, brooches, beads, rings, iron knives, brass sword buckles, vessels of brown pottery and glass, exactly correspond with the discoveries made in the small tumuli in Kent and Sussex by Mr. Douglas, who has so exactly delineated and described them in his *Nenia*. It seems that Chessel Down was inhabited by the

first settlers in the island, as the barrows which have been opened in the vicinity (wherein the primary interment is a simple deposit of the ashes, without urn or ornaments) bespeak a remote antiquity. As to the clay vessels placed near the summit of the tumuli, both on Brooke and Mottiston Downs, and in the vicinity of Freshwater Bay, there can be little doubt that they were deposited at a later period. Urn burial, I believe, continued to be practised by the Romans, and by their imitators, the Britons, till after the age of Constantine. They then began to bury their bodies entire. As an instance of the gradation in this mode of interment, we have, on the spot which at present occupies our attention, first, the original Celtic barrow, with the simple deposit of ashes. Second, the secondary deposit, with ashes in an urn, near the summit of the tumulus, by a subsequent generation, who buried in places already rendered sacred in their opinions by the ashes of their predecessors. Thirdly, the clay urn, placed in the ground without any tumulus, near the habitation of the deceased. (One of this kind we discovered in the rising ground, fifty or sixty yards above the chalk pits, where we cut a trench, and met with coarse pottery and horses' teeth.) Fourthly, the body placed in a grave, with its weapons and ornaments; which mode continued till the introduction of flammels, when they began to inter their dead in stone coffins and cists, in consecrated ground. Indeed, there is reason to believe, the converted pagans were for a time unwilling to set aside the customs of their ancestors, since there was an edict established by Charlemagne, as late as the eighth century, prohibiting his subjects from burying their dead in waste places, or in the sepulchres of the heathens. From the situation of Chessel Down, which rises gradually above these places of interment, and from its heights commanding the coast on each side of the island, with the road which led to the landing places at Freshwater Bay and Newtown, I am inclined to think it has some time or other been occupied by the Romans as a post of observation, whose soldiers resided amongst the Britons. This might be ascertained to a certainty, by digging on the high ground, to see whether there are any foundations of buildings, coins, or the better kind of pottery. That the Britons resided here in numbers, is evident from the extent of their burial-place, also from the place of assembly on Shalcombe Down, which was capable of containing several thousands, and certainly has every appearance of having been a spot sacred to the religion of the Druids, as it faces the east, and is connected with Chessel Down by an avenue where the natural hollow of the den is assisted by art. When the lower grounds were cleared of trees, and the marshes and morasses drained, which might have been about the time of the Saxon settlement in the island, we may suppose the population of these parts gradually descended from the heights, and perhaps established themselves at Newtown, since the name implies it sprang from a place of

greater antiquity, the same as Newport did from Carisbrooke, and Newbury, near Reading, from the Roman station at Speenhill. I should hope, at your leisure, you will make a few days' more examination on the heights above where the trenches were dug, as both Mr. Love and myself picked up some pottery two or three hundred yards higher up; and the settlement, in all probability, extended along the side of the hill facing the west and south-west. Both Chessel and Chalcomb seem to owe their present appellation to the circumstance of the spring which rises near the farmhouse. Chaeswel being the spring of water, which might be contracted first into *Chaesel*, then into Chessel. Shaelcombe is the valley of this spring, and we need not be surprised that the Britons should give a preference to the spot on this very account, and establish themselves in the vicinity of this, so absolute a necessary of life. I am sure the Antiquarian Society will be highly gratified to receive a paper from you on the subject of these interesting discoveries on your estate, and if you get Douglas's *Nenia*, I think you will receive a fresh stimulus to prosecute your researches. I have sent my conjectures respecting Camerton, as delivered in a letter of sir R. Hoare, since writing which, everything has tended to strengthen my opinions. I shall now be very busy in tracing the Roman port way to the Severn, and hope before the winter to have made some progress."

OCTOBER 26.

The rev. J. Rankin, of Huggate, forwarded the following notice:—"On Aug. 14th, a deputation of the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club, viz., Professor Phillips, Dr. Thurnam, the rev. J. Rankin, Messrs. Bowman and Jessop, repaired to Acklam Wold, in the East Riding, and opened three tumuli. Two contained complete skeletons, heads to the north; the third contained only a large unbaked urn, filled with fragments of bones; but whether human, or those of the lower animals, is uncertain.

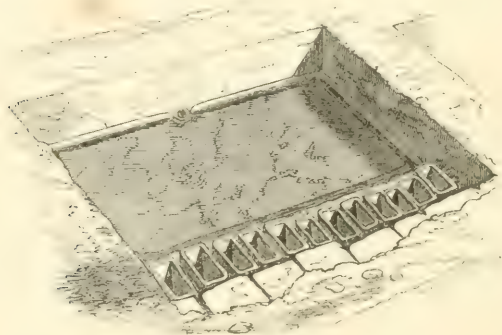
"On the 28th, they opened one near Great Driffield, which contained the remains of a female of rank, accompanied with beads of amber and glass, fibulae, scissors and case, comb and case. Underneath her were found the remains of a much younger person.

On October the 12th, they dug into a twin barrow in the parish of Wharram Percy, and came to a cone of flint stones enclosing a pile of earth, which seems to have formed the nucleus of the barrow. Among the stones were a quantity of rats' teeth, part of a stag's horn, and fragments of human bones. The outer part of the stones had undergone the action of fire. On the same day, they opened four barrows in the parish of Huggate, but two of them had been opened at some distant period, and the skeletons

thrown back again in a disordered state. The other two contained nothing but a heap of remains of vegetable and animal matter, and the adjacent soil having undergone incineration, the only exception were two pieces of an urn, in a well-baked state, with part of a zig-zag border." The Yorkshire Antiquarian Club, it is understood, are preparing for publication a detailed account of these researches.

The Council also received from the President a paper drawn up by Mr. Tissiman and Dr. Murray, illustrated by drawings, on discoveries recently made in barrows near Scarborough. This communication will appear in the next part of the *Journal*, illustrated by engravings, for which the Council are indebted to the kindness and liberality of lord Albert Denison.

An account of the discoveries made by Mr. Bland, at Danes Field, Hartlip, in 1848, will be found at page 398 *et seq.* of the fourth volume of the *Journal*. In the plan which accompanies the report, are two baths, E and F. These interesting features of Roman domestic architecture will be more fully comprehended by the following observations by Mr. C. R. Smith, and the engravings here supplied. The first of these represents the bath E on the plan. The hollow tiles were covered with a thick



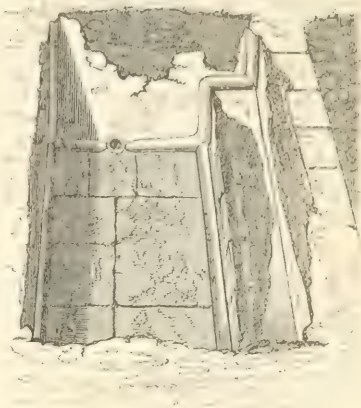
cover of stucco, and formed a ledge, or seat, which, with the sides, was painted red.

The second exhibits that marked F on the plan. It is also covered with cement, and had likewise been painted. A thick moulding of plaster runs round the floor and up the angles, and the leaden pipes for carrying off the water yet remain. (See cut, head of next page.)

During the present year, Mr. Bland continued the excavations, and several members of the Association availed themselves of his invitation to examine the villa, and the various remains brought to light in and about it. Among the more remarkable of the objects discovered, may be pointed out

an extraordinary fragment of embossed Samian pottery, ornamented with a figure of Victory, crowning a male figure, with the right-hand raised, as on the Byzantine coins, and wearing the *paludamentum* over a tunic. This composition appears to be of a very late date, and much subsequent to other designs on the same vase, which has evidently been made up from a variety of moulds.

The fragment of a glass vase, shewn in the cut below, is equally rare and curious. On it are representations in relief, of chariot races, and gladiatorial fights, the names of the charioteers and of the combatants being inscribed above them. With the exception of one or two similar fragments found in London, this seems to be the only example of the kind discovered in



this country. An unique example of a species of small portable balance may also be mentioned, not very dissimilar in principle of construction

to those lately invented for weighing letters; a circular fibula in speculum metal; implements in iron; and a portion of a small vase, remarkable for being coated with a glaze of a yellowish-green colour.¹

The remains of the villa have been carefully covered in by Mr. Bland and Mr. Andrews, in case it should at any future time be considered requisite to reopen them. Great praise is due to Mr. Bland for the effective manner in which these researches have been completed; and to Mr. Andrews, the tenant of the property, for the liberality he evinced in sacrificing, for so long a time, the use of a valuable arable field, to the purposes of science.

NOVEMBER 7.

Mr. W. Addison Combs exhibited a monumental brass, formerly in Hever church, Kent, accompanied by a note as follows:—"The inscription on the brass appears to read thus: 'Henry Bullayne the sone of Sir Thomas Bullayne'. Perhaps some member of the Association will be able to throw some light on this Henry, as sir Thomas Boleyn had issue by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Thomas duke of Norfolk, one son and two daughters, viz.

"George viscount Rochford, summoned to parliament in his father's lifetime, who married Jane, daughter of Parker lord Morley, beheaded May 17, 1536, having no issue.

"Anne, married king Henry VIII, and beheaded May 19, 1536.

"Mary, married to Wm. Cary, Esquire of the body to king Henry VIII; and secondly, to sir Wm. Stafford, knight. She deceased 1542.

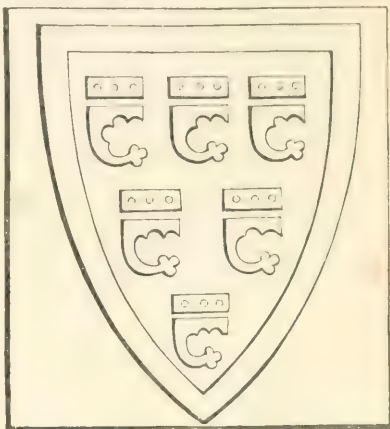
"By this latter marriage Hever castle passed into the family of Cary; and by an alliance between Cary and Waldo, the present family became possessed not by descent but by having the option of purchase.

"There has been attached to this inscription a small cross, which has altogether disappeared; and it is my intencion to have this remaining memorial immediately placed in its original position, which I have ascertained on personal inspection to have been at the east end of Hever church, and close to the tomb of sir Thomas Boleyn. The size of the stone would indicate this Henry to have been very young, not above the age of six years, possibly much younger."

Mr. Planché exhibited some tracings from encaustic tiles, taken from Neath abbey, by Mr. Llewellym Jewitt, in further illustration of Mr. Planché's paper on the charge in heraldry, called a clarion; accompanied by the following letter from Mr. Jewitt:—"I was particularly anxious that whenever you had the tracings, they should be strictly correct ones; and not

¹ The cuts to this notice are from Mr. Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua", vol. ii, of the villa, illustrated by etchings and a general plan. which contains a consecutive account

feeling quite sufficient confidence in the sketch you saw, I have had fresh tracings made from the tiles themselves in the Neath museum. You will find the form of the tracing different from any of the figures you have given in your excellent paper in the *Journal*, and I hope they may be of service to you. I need hardly tell you that most of the bearings on tiles of the period to which these most probably belong, partake usually of the Gothic characteristics of the buildings they were intended to adorn,—this will account for the trefoil terminations of the present figures.



“ I have always looked on the bearing in question as a kind of Pandean pipe, and I have very little doubt that it was so originally ; and its name, *sufflue*, would imply that it might be so.”

Mr. Jewitt also forwarded two drawings from a manuscript “ Catalogue



of the armes of the nobility and gentry of Devonshire, Cornwall, and the city of Exon”, etc., 1689, with the arms emblazoned. In it, they

are called as follows : 1, in the arms of Grenevil, rests or sufflues ; 2, in the arms of John Greenville, earl of Bath, clarions, or horseman’s rests ; additionally proving the uncertainty which existed amongst armorists of the seventeenth century respecting the origin of this singular figure.

Mr. Planché called attention to the form it assumed in the tabard of one of the series of the earls of Gloucester, represented in the painted windows of the choir of the abbey church of Tewkesbury, and engraved by the late Mr. Carter, date the early part of the fourteenth century.



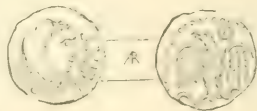
Mr. W. H. Rolfe informed the Council that he was engaged in making excavations on the site of the supposed amphitheatre at Richborough, and that it had already been ascertained by him and Mr. C. Roach Smith, that it had not only been properly so termed by Stukeley and Boys, but also, what had not been suspected, that it had been surrounded by a wall, a portion of which, indicating the form of an ellipsis, had been laid open.

Mr. Smith stated, that on the opposite side of the marshes, at Richborough, he had been informed by Mr. Becker, nearly twenty early Saxon graves had, some few years since, been discovered. The site is a field called Goss-field, at Cup-street, near the village of Goldstone. The graves were found by workmen employed by Mr. Becker in land draining; they were covered with rough flag-stones, and contained skeletons, the remains of weapons and urns, coins, glass vessels, and beads.

In addition to the casts of British coins forwarded by Mr. B. Poste (see p. 157 ante), the accompanying delineations of two British coins ascribed to the celebrated Caractacus, and fac-similes of their legends, have been transmitted, with the following remarks:—

“The first is a coin in the British Museum collection, noted formerly by Mr. Taylor Combe, in his description of the coins of that establishment, the legend being then read as EPAT, the first letter being confused with the outline of the figure; but the recent discovery of Mr. Drummond's cognate type having induced a further comparison and examination of this piece, shews the existence of this first letter, a K, plain enough; though, indeed, somewhat distorted in its form, giving the legend as here represented. The description of this type will be thus:—

“In silver, obverse, head of Hercules to the right, enveloped in a lion's skin; legend in Greek letters, KEPAT (KERAT). Reverse, an eagle, fronting towards the right, but the head turned towards the left; no legend.



“Mr. Drummond's type, found at Farley-Heath, near Guildford, about a year since, and first engraved in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xi, p. 92,

has one additional letter in the legend. That Celtic, *i. e.*, British and Gaulish coins, frequently have Greek characters, and are occasionally of Greek types, has often been remarked by numismatists; and the application of both these coins, here engraved from the originals, to Caractacus, seems pretty clear. Indeed, it may be noted, that types with somewhat similar legends, now lost, were assigned by several of our early historical writers to this British chief. The description of Mr. Drummond's type will be as follows:—

“In silver, obverse and reverse copied from the preceding coin, but with an addition of one letter to the legend, which in this is in the longer form, KEPATI, in Greek letters. According to Roman letters, this stands for KERATHUK, which appears to have been the British form of the name Caractacus.



“The first of the above coins, the British Museum specimen, under its former description, EPAT, was applied by Mionnet and other foreign numismatists, to the Gaulish chief Epasnaectacus, mentioned by Caesar in his *Commentaries*. In this country, though likewise in the first instance considered Gaulish by Mr. Taylor Combe, it has most generally been supposed latterly the coin of some British prince. Its present appropriation to one of the most eminent of them known in history, seems based on data not likely to prove deceptive.”

Mr. Bevington exhibited a denarius of Severus, found a few months since between Mansfield and the King's Mill, in excavating for a railroad. It was in an urn with many hundreds, which were dispersed in all directions by the workmen.

NOVEMBER 28.

Mr. Pretty, of Northampton, communicated as follows :—“Upon reference to the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. ii, p. 364, or to Wetton's *Guide to Northampton*, p. 148, you will observe that I have alluded to a Roman tessellated pavement discovered in 1846, but not fully explained at the time. On my return from Rugby, on Tuesday last, I heard that Miss Baker had called to inform me, that Mr. Manning had had the pavement uncovered. Accordingly, I visited it the next morning, and was delighted to find it of so large a size, being much larger than any yet discovered in this county. I have had a measured plan taken of it, and find it to be twenty-two feet long by ten feet. The design is different; but certainly not so rich as some of the Castor pavements, given in Artis's views. Mr. Manning very kindly informed Miss Baker, that if any society in Northampton wished to possess it for a museum, it should be given to them. I consulted with a mason, who stated, that at this time, owing to the uncertainty of the weather, it would not be desirable to attempt removing it; and it has, according to his directions, been again covered up, and fortunately so, as the Vandals who visited the spot, were all anxious to carry away specimens of the tesserae; and the weather on Friday was in the latter part of the day and night so wet, and followed by frost, that it would, no doubt, have been utterly spoiled.

“No doubt the pavement discovered is not the only one; as tesserae and other relics are discovered to a considerable extent beyond the spot.

The foundations, Mr. Manning says, have not yet been hit upon, so that I hope at some future time there will be a rich mine for us to explore."

Mr. Purland exhibited a collection of bronze and other Roman antiquities, obtained from Reculver, by J. F. Fillinham, esq. They chiefly consisted of remains of fibulæ (some curious, drawings of which have been taken for future illustration and classification), pins in bronze and bone, portions of keys, buckles, hooks, beads, imitation pearls, horse furniture, and a specimen of steelyard.

Mr. Purland also exhibited from his collection, rubbings of various brasses, taken from churches in Norwich.

Mr. Keet exhibited drawings of a building at Verona, which he conjectured to have been a naumachia, or place for the display of aquatic fights and games.

Mr. W. Winkley, jun., of Harrow-on-the-Hill, laid before the meeting some rubbings of interesting brasses from Harrow church; they related to a founder of the school at that place. A brass, also, from Shopland, Essex, unpublished, was likewise shewn. It represented a mailed knight, and is described by Weever as Thos. Stapel, serjeant-at-arms to Edward III, date 1371; the lower part of the figure is covered by a pew.

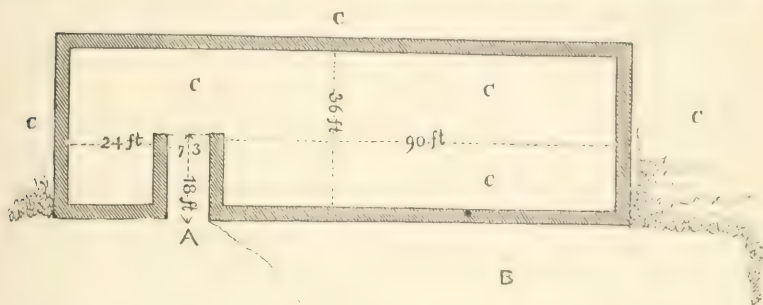
DECEMBER 14.

Mr. George Wright produced some roughly taken rubbings of a crowned M, and curious collar, having upon it alternately a rose, and what appeared to be the letter R, existing in an old vault beneath Belvoir Castle. Mr. Planché considered the M to be placed there as the initial letter of Manners, and the R that of Roos, both of which names belonged to the families of the earls of Rutland. A cast is promised to be taken, and to be laid before the Association, for future consideration.

The secretary laid before the Association the following account of discoveries made at Upham, in Hampshire; the further progress of which will be communicated in a future portion of the *Journal*.

"The secluded and woodland village of Upham, in Hampshire, about seven miles south-south-east of Winchester, and near to Bishop's-Waltham, having lately been subjected to the improvements in agriculture which the state of the times renders necessary, in the progress of converting the unprofitable woods into the more useful corn-growing land, *indicia* of Roman buildings of considerable extent were made palpable, in grubbing up some of the wood-land on the estate of Mr. Stephens, of Black-Down, in the above-named parish. It is hoped that, as the woods in which these *indicia* occur are destined to become arable land, proper care and attention will be bestowed in drawing every atom of information from them, that no little discovery be lost sight of, which may in any way contribute to throw a particle of light on the manners and customs of the people of the fargone ages

to which the remains belong. On the high ground, in the upper wood, which may be about three-quarters of a mile from Black-Down house, and is partly cleared, are what appear to be banks, but, on striking in a pick-axe, are found to be the foundations of parallelogram-formed buildings. See the rude plan annexed (from memory), about a hundred and twenty feet



A. Passage.—B. Portion of the field previously cleared, actually leaving the Roman bank of masonry as a boundary between the wood and arable field.—C C C. Uncleared wood.

long, by thirty-six feet wide; the walls are of flint, varying in thickness, but averaging somewhat over two feet, having a passage running into the interior, much nearer one end than to the other. At present this passage, marked A in the plan, is the only part of the ruins that can come under especial notice; it is about five or six feet deep, from the top of the foundations, somewhat over seven feet wide, and has been explored and emptied inward to the distance of about eighteen feet, and probably continues farther. A great deal of the plaster is still adhering to the sides of it, which bears traces of the colouring with which it was once decorated. Probably the Romans, in leaving this country, destroyed the villa themselves, filling this passage with the *débris*, as in it were found fragments of pottery; some of the common light-red ware, occasionally with a zigzag belt; some of a ruder sort of urn, apparently sun-baked; many fragments of coloured stucco; red, brown, buff, light-blue, and, rarely, green, being the colours used; some articles of iron; the horns and bones of the red-deer, and an antler of a larger sort of stag; a few pieces of Roman tiles; some fragments of red roof-tiles; together with some hundreds of an irregular hexagonal tile of stone, in dimensions about seventeen inches by eleven inches, many of them over an inch thick, with holes through one side, and in many the nails are still sticking in them;—all of which appear to have been deposited and covered up in this passage. Other banks, containing remains much more extensive, are in a standing wood lower down in the valley, and nearer the house. This wood is called Well-Coppice; at this place the remains of a well, though now filled in, are still apparent. No indications of rooms are yet

visible; and, from the very incipient state of the exploration, nothing very definite can be gathered. The foundations are of the flints of the neighbourhood; but, as they are for the most part covered with earth, and grown over with underwood, ivy brambles, and other coppice weeds, they assume the appearance of banks only. The part in the rude accompanying plan is as yet uncleared woodland, mostly standing wood, with trees, etc."

In reference to Mr. Barton's communication, p. 362-5, the Association has been favoured with the following remarks by J. B. Bergne, esq., treasurer of the Numismatic Society:—

"The discovery that the coins commonly called counterfeit sterlings, are (or profess to be) coins of foreign princes or cities, is not new. Representations of many of these pieces are given in the plate attached to Snelling's tract on the subject (London, 1769); and in his text they are correctly attributed to the counts of Flanders, and to the counts or lords of different districts or cities in that country, which are named upon the coins, as Brabant, Alost, Namur, Ligny, etc. The coin reading *Galces Comes Pore*, is of Galcher of Chatillon, count of Porcien.—See Snelling, p. 29.

"It is probable, though not certain, that some at least of these coins were struck by the authority of the princes or nobles whose names they bear; and therefore that in one sense they may not be *counterfeit* sterlings, but rather *foreign* sterlings, as indeed they are sometimes called. But, nevertheless, the former term seems most accurately to describe their true character; because, while they are either of inferior standard or of lighter weight than the English silver money of the period, they were made closely to resemble the latter coin in general appearance, with a view to obtain for them a fraudulent circulation in England, and probably in other countries. Such a cheat was by no means difficult to effect in an age when reading was a rare accomplishment among the laity; and it is proved to have been successful by the fact, that numbers of these continental sterlings have been found in hoards in company with genuine English pennies. The fraudulent object of these coins is, however, if possible, still more apparent from the circumstance, that specimens sometimes occur which are exact imitations of the Irish coins of Edward I, and of the Scottish pennies of Robert Bruce (Snelling, pl. 3, Nos. 14 and 29), as well as some which actually bear the name and titles of Edward I on the obverse (No. 1), and others which have a legend without meaning, but closely resembling the English penny in general appearance (No. 36). The opprobrious term "*counterfeit*", seems therefore, after all, the most appropriate designation for this class of coins.

See on this subject, also, the papers in the *Archæologia*, descriptive of two hoards of pennies of Edward I and II, discovered in the river Dove, near Tutbury, in 1831, and at Wyke, near Leeds, in 1836, vols. xxiv, p. 141, and xxviii, p. 47.

Notices of New Publications.

ELEVEN DEEDS, OF THE TIMES OF HENRY III AND EDWARD I, FROM AMONGST THE COURT-ROLLS OF THE MANOR OF KESWICK; ALSO THE DEED OF SALE OF THE ADVOWSON OF ISTWOOD, SEVENTH EDWARD I, 1279. In the possession of Hudson Gurney, esq. London: 1841. 8vo. Privately printed.

THE deeds herein printed are of great interest. The legality of the marriages of the clergy, and the legitimacy of their offspring, in the reign of Edward I, is distinctly stated and recognized, and Mr. Gurney has done real service to history by printing these documents relating to his property. To remove any doubt that may attach to the meaning of the word *clericus*, it is sufficient to state that Henry of Norwich, referred to in the following passages, was rector of Colney, lord of several manors, and of a family connected with the Bygods; also, that most of the witnesses to the deeds are lords of mesne manors, held under the Bygods, or the clergy of their parishes; or, as in two or three instances, the sons of the clergy.

The passages from the deeds to which it is desired to draw attention, are as follow:—

No. 3. “Et si contingat predictos Henricum et Katerinam sine herede ex eis legitime procreato in fata decidere, predictæ tres acre terre remaneant proximis heredibus dicti Henrici absque alicujus retenemento vel contradictione.”

No. 5. “Hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Norwicio clerico et Katerine uxori sue.” Again: “Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis predictis Henrico et Katerine et eorum heredibus ex eis conjunctim et legitime provenientes.” Again: “Predictis Henrico et Katerine et eorum heredibus ex eis conjunctim provenientes vel eorum assignatis.” And, “Si contingat predictos Henricum et Katerinam sine herede ex eis legitime procreato in fata decidere.”

No. 7. “Henrico de Norwicio clerico et Katerine uxori sue. Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis vel meis assignatis predictis Henrico et Katerine et eorum heredibus ex eis conjunctim et legitime provenientes, aut cuicumque et quibuscumque vel quodocumque predictis Henricus vel predicta Katerina, seu eorum heredes prenominati dictam terram dare,” etc. “Et si contingat predictos Henricum et Katerinam sine

herede ex eis legitime procreato in fata decidere, tota predicta terra cum suis pertinentiis proximis heredibus predicti Henrici absque alicujus ratamento seu contradictione remaneat."

No. 12. A Deed of Sale of the advowson of Intwood, in 1279, shews that advowsons were not at that time saleable otherwise than as being attached to specific parcels of land; and it further appears that the price of a rood of land, so sold, amounted to *triginta libris argenti*, which seems a large sum of money for the property at that period. P.

SYNOPSIS OF THE MUSEUM OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.
Edinburgh, 1849.

THE Society of Antiquaries of Scotland has for some years, it is well known and regretted, suspended the publication of its proceedings. The useful and well-arranged volume, just compiled by Mr. Daniel Wilson, the secretary, presents not merely a catalogue of the contents of the excellent museum of the society, and considerable information on the history of the institution, but it also conveys an understanding, that a resumption of the *Archæologia Scotica* may be now reasonably hoped to be soon effected. With so much energy and ability in the managing body, and with such a proper feeling of the true objects of antiquarianism, as is shewn in the pages of this book, the society cannot well consent to remain much longer without giving to the world the benefit of its researches, and the accumulated information which they have produced. It has encountered great difficulties in establishing this museum, aided only by private contributions and individual exertions; and, we believe, to this laudable and national enterprise is chiefly to be ascribed the exhaustion of its funds, and the cessation of its publications. People on the continent would with difficulty comprehend why Scotland should be excluded from a share of the government support which is bestowed on the museums of London and Dublin. Its national antiquities are certainly not of inferior worth; and the cause of the partiality must, therefore, be attributed to the apathy with which our government has hitherto resisted all appeals to its liberality on behalf of objects purely archaeological. While Paris, Berlin, Copenhagen, Brussels, Vienna, Petersburg, Munich, Rome, Naples, Athens, and other cities and towns, possess rich museums of national antiquities, founded and supported by the public money, the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with boundless resources, reluctantly grants for the preservation of its ancient monuments such inadequate doles, that foreigners ask in vain to see our museums of *national* antiquities, so little does any

collection we yet possess answer expectations formed from an acquaintance with their own rich and well digested museums.

This Synopsis will be extremely valuable for reference, as the various objects are not only well and amply described, but a brief history of them is appended; and antiquaries residing in far distant parts of the kingdom will often be able to find in Scotland the antiquities of their own localities, whose inhabitants were too destitute of taste and feeling to supply the means which would have preserved them nearer home. As, for instance, the marquis of Breadalbane has added to the collection "a number of curious and valuable Roman and medieval remains, chiefly found in London and its neighbourhood"; and the late Mr. E. W. A. Drummond Hay bequeathed a munificent present of coins and other antiquities, including many Roman remains, discovered at Colchester. Scotland has, of course, furnished the most numerous specimens; while the king of Denmark, who has proved himself a sincere and able antiquary, and has placed himself, not nominally, but practically, at the head of the Society of the North, stands honourably recorded as the donor of some interesting Danish antiquities, which are justly prized for the points of comparison they present, in juxtaposition with those of the same people, found in our own country. The value of the Synopsis is enhanced, it may be observed, by the introduction of wood-cuts.

C. R. S.

WETTON'S GUIDE BOOK TO NORTHAMPTON AND ITS VICINITY; with an Historical and Descriptive Account of the Town and Neighbourhood. Northampton: G. N. Wetton. London: Longman and Co. 1849.

UNDER the modest title of a *Guide Book*, the author of the handsome volume before us has in reality produced a comprehensive history of Northampton and its neighbourhood, such as we should be glad to see imitated in respect of every town in the kingdom. They are miserable things in general, these guide books; got up as the merest commercial speculation, by men who have neither the capacity, nor the taste, nor the earnest will, for the fitting performance of the task they undertake, and desecrate. Let any one remember the trashy, uninformed, catch-penny, books, which we used to meet with twenty or thirty years ago at watering-places; let him call to mind the mis-information where anything like information was attempted; the stereotyped blunders, even upon local matters, which challenged the sight daily, and yet were never seen; the mawkish puffs, wherever a puff was supposed likely to sell an extra copy, or win the favour of an influential neighbour; the showman-like style in which the most

obvious and common-place objects were exalted; and the almost total darkness in which everything was left which most required the light of an intelligent *cicerone*;—let any man who has lamented the throwing away his half-crown or five shillings upon a book of this description, turn to Wetton's *Guide to Northampton*, and be thankful that a day has come when a guide has ceased to be "the blind leading the blind"; and when a book, with a title which people have been accustomed to regard as indicating a pamphlet as temporary in its character as a Moore's Almanack, turns out to be filled with matter of sterling interest, and fitted to take a permanent place upon the shelves even of the archaeologist.

Northampton is a modern looking town, although standing upon the site of an undoubtedly ancient settlement. "There is every reason to suppose," says the *Guide*, "that it may have been of British origin." But the author is of opinion that it was not a Roman station, notwithstanding the numerous evidences of Roman occupation which exist in its neighbourhood. It was defended by a wall as early as 1200, and remained so until 1662, when the walls and part of the castle were demolished by

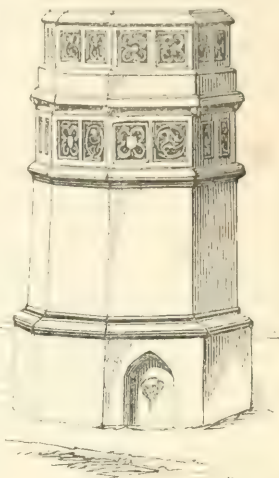


order of the king. A cut of a postern door-way, now remaining, having a flat trefoil-headed arch, is given. A great fire, in 1675, swept away its medieval features; and the fine timbered gables which, to a greater or less extent, are to be found in most of our country towns, are nowhere to be met with. But in two or three of its churches it has architectural objects of great interest; and the circuit which the Guide Book includes, abounds in attractions for the ecclesio-

logical antiquary. A very curious and early inscription, discovered in 1823, near All Saints' church-yard, and a specimen of Anglo-Saxon or very early Anglo-Norman sculpture, now forming the lintel of a door in a cottage nearly at the bottom of Black Lion Hill, fully prove the early occupation of this town. St. Peter's church, Northampton, is a Norman relic of great beauty; and the church of St. Sepulchre is one of the few round churches supposed to have been built on the model of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. We regret to learn by the *Guide*, that these two interesting structures are going rapidly to decay. In a county equally famed for its squires and its spires, we should have looked for both wealth

and taste, sufficient to prevent such a reproach, if another relic—the monumental cross erected by Edward I to his queen Eleanor—were not also an evidence of the want of local interest in such matters. Some years ago an effort was made towards its repair, and the canopy, we believe, was restored; but when we last saw it, the lower stages were gradually becoming a shapeless mass, and we look in vain in the Guide Book for the pleasing intimation that the work has been completed. Some interesting objects have disappeared altogether, even within the last few years; and amongst them is mentioned and figured the old octangular conduit, within memory, at the corner of All Saints' church-yard (see cut).

It is a distinguishing characteristic of the Guide Book, that the author has in no single instance omitted to visit the places he describes. He is, in truth, diligent and painstaking in all respects. He has availed himself of the standard county historians, Bridges and Baker, and the occasional additions of Hartshorne and others. But he has used his own eyes and understanding also; and has thus brought together a great deal of minute information which we do not find recorded elsewhere. He has explored, with much profit, the pages of the early newspaper of the county, *The Northampton Mercury*, which dates from 1720, especially with reference to the sports of the early part of the last century. From this contemporary authority, it appears that, so late as 1722, the quintain was played on the occasion of a marriage. The following advertisement, from the same journal, for the year 1724, is curiously illustrative of the rude amusements of our rural ancestors:—



“On Tuesday in Whitsun week, being the 26th of May 1724, will be run for, from the gate of William Thursby, esq., leading into Wellingborough-road, down Abbington-street, to the Pump, upon the Corn Market-hill, in Northampton, a plate of £5 value, by any bull, cow, or bullock, of any age or size whatsoever, that never won the value of £5 in money or plate. Each rider to have boots and spurs, with a goad of the usual size. Every bull sent to pay one shilling entrance, which is to be given to the second-best bull, etc.; the winning beast to be sold for £20 (if desired) by the subscribers.”

Ten years later the amusements do not appear to have become of a much more refined character. In October 1733, another advertisement appeared in the same Journal:—

“ For the diversion of the neighbourhood.

“ At the George Inn, at Guilsborough, on Monday the 19th instant, will be given gratis, a lac'd hat, of the full value of one guinea, to be play'd for at single-stick. The same evening, will also be given gratis, a *holland shift*, of the full value of one guinea, and a very good *short mobb*, to be danced for by young women; the best dancer to have the shift, and the second-best the mobb. On the next day, will be given gratis, six pair of buckskin gloves, to be wrestled for, the best of three falls. Note, none will be entitled to any of these prizes, but such as actually live within five miles of Guilsborough, nor any admitted to wrestle with nails in their shoes.”

An inn, called Highgate House, seven miles from Northampton, was once, it seems, celebrated for its bowling-green. Another advertisement, dated in 1725, announces the opening for the season, with the addition of “a twelvepenny ordinary”, and “*an handsome appearance of gentlemen*”. In those days of gaudy-coloured coats, and waistcoats blazing with gold-lace, equally gaudy silk stockings, and lace neckcloths, the expression in italics was more “germane to the matter” than at first appears.

At Boughton Green, a place celebrated for its great fair, is still to be traced a “shepherd's race, maze, or labyrinth”. It is of a circular form. We have not before met with the observation that, “like the quintain, the locality of this amusement is near Roman roads or stations”. It is borne out by the Julian's bower, adjoining the Roman camp at Aldborough, Lincolnshire; at St. Catherine's Hill, near Winchester, where it is within the Roman encampment; and at other places.

As we have said, the neighbourhood of Northampton abounds in structures interesting to the ecclesiologist. The peculiar architectural features of the churches are described concisely, but with a pen accustomed to its task. Brixworth and Earl's Barton, well known to antiquaries as rare specimens of early Anglo-Saxon work; Stowe-Nine-Churches, Pattishall, and Green's Norton, noticeable for “long and short work”; and Cold Higham and Rothersthorpe, interesting for their pack-saddle roofs—the latter known to our readers through the able description and masterly etchings of our member, Mr. Pretty, in the first volume of our *Journal*;—all receive their due meed of notice. The low side-windows, or openings, which were long a puzzle to the church-hunter, and have been variously described, as lychscopes, offertories, and confessionals, are carefully noticed whenever they occur, and are satisfactorily shewn to have been used as confessionals. Three instances are mentioned of painted beams over rood-lofts and altars, a peculiarity which we do not remember to have seen noticed by any other archaeologist. And even where churches have been destroyed, great care has been taken to give the fullest account of them previous to their removal. This is particularly the case with

Boughton church, a view of which is given, as it appeared before the fall of the spire in 1785.



Boughton church.

Nor have the Roman remains of the neighbourhood escaped the experienced eye of our antiquary. A plan is given of the Roman camp at Guilsborough; and recent discoveries are noticed at Hollowell, Gayton, Harpole, and Towcester, some of which we do not remember to have seen noticed by previous writers.

The book is freely illustrated by careful lithographs of all the churches in Northampton, an engraving of Queen's Cross, and numerous wood-cuts, all after drawings by Mr. Pretty. We close our notice with a cordial recommendation of the *Guide* to archaeologists generally, as well as to all who desire to know something concerning Northampton and its vicinity. No resident or visitor can find his walk solitary or uninteresting with such a companion in his pocket.

D.

RESPONSE A LA DISSERTATION DE M. A. DEVILLE sur un Symbole Gaulois figure sur les médailles de l'Armorique, désigné sous le nom de *Peplum*, par M. Ed. Lambert. Caen, 1848 : 4to.

ON the earliest indigenous coins of France certain marks or symbols are found, in which we see four points placed at the corners of a parallelogram, connected with each and a central point by means of diagonal lines; these have been the subject of much discussion amongst French archaeologists and numismatists, and the work before us is a link (though perhaps not the latest) in the chain of their inquiries. M. Leluwel (*Etudes numismatiques*, p. 90-93) is often considered as the first who drew attention to it, and named it *guidon carré*, but in the present work, p. 6, an earlier mention is claimed for Mionnet, who named it, but without a drawing, *un tableau suspendu*. In 1844, M. Lambert himself discussed the type more at large in his essay "sur la Numismatique gauloise du nord-ouest de la France," and called it *peplum*, for reasons we shall subsequently consider. This denomination Duchalais wished to change (*Description des Médailles gauloises, etc.*, Paris, 1846) into that of *vitta*, without much change of opinion. Against these, M. Deville (in vol. iv of *Mémoires de la Soc. d'Antiq. de Normandie*) opposed the name and practice of the Roman *phalera*. In the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Oct. 1848, the work before us is reviewed, and the reasonings of M. Deville are fortified by more extended proofs: the most recent remarks on the subject are in the *Revue Numismatique*, par Calier et Saussage, année 1848, "Dissertation de phalères, par M. Adrien de Longpérier", who also takes similar views of it with Deville. It is evident from this variety of name, that a great diversity of opinion exists on the significance of this symbol, and the pamphlet under review is an attempt to reiterate and substantiate the author's previous opinions, that his *peplum* is a kind of symbol of the air. (p. 4.) Beyond the various authorities for the use of *peplum* for a veil, or oftener for a female mantle, answering as both to the hideous *chitouk* of modern Orientals, and which none will dispute, no other authority is perhaps to be cited for its adaptation to the air than a passage from Porphyry, who is said to have called the firmament *peplos*. A parallel English deduction will shew the untenableness of the argument. Shakespeare, in the well-known line,

"Nor heav'n peep through the blanket of the dark",

uses this very comfortable woollen integument, looking only at its superficial distension, in the sense of Porphyry's *eiel*, but surely any future antiquary discoursing on the American poncho, from its rudest form as a common blanket, with a hole for the head in its centre, covered with which, according to sir Francis Head, the South American Creole scampers across

his native pampas, to the richly decorated embroidered and betasseled (M. Deville has twelve varieties of tassels) surtout of the Mexican dandy, would, under any circumstances, never think of claiming this blanket-poncho, even on the respectable authority of Shakespeare's single line, as a symbol of the air, in whatever position it might be met with.

Those who used the name *phaleræ* seem the nearest the truth as to the denomination; but they stop short too soon when they have only brought them into connexion with the Roman phalera or horse trappings, on which, however, medallions are often found with similar symbols, as is more particularly investigated in a laureated treatise by Signor Gennaro Roccio, from Coins and Gruter's Inscriptions. Such phalera had certainly their name, probably their meaning, from the phylacteries of the Greeks, who may have borrowed the superstition from the Hebrew abuse of the precepts of Moses (*Deuteron. vi. 6-8*) degenerating subsequently into charms and amulets. Amongst these, the manner of placing the five mystical points: in Greek and Teutonic arrangement, the pentagram, pentalfa, or pentagon; in Roman, the quincunx, were the most famous. But still more so was the Greek form of disposition for these five points, in the pentalfa. The attribution of its invention by the ancients to Pythagoras, the grand recipient for all the most recondite and ancient mysticism, and its frequent appearance on the Greek coinage, attest the importance of its figure as soon as we discover the faintest glimmerings of history. It was, however, of equal hidden import amongst the barbarian nations of the north. For the Druids it was the highest badge of their dignity, perhaps their secret sign of recognition, and its place as an embroidered ornament of the sandal is still attested by its trivial German name of "Trüten Füß". Buchner (*Geschichte von Baiern*, page 123) says, he has seen these five-angled figures, or "Druid's feet," cut from the banks of a consecrated palm branch, and placed at the corners of a corn field in Bavaria as a safeguard to the crop. We have an herb of some efficacy amongst country and simple nostrums, called the colts-foot, and as in our English British coins we find the pentalfa a frequent emblem, but always in a peculiar situation at the feet of the horse, guardant, *i. e.* not rampant or galloping, as in the Gaulic mintage, we might be induced to refer the veneration for the horse shoe obtaining in every part of Europe, if not throughout the entire old world, but to the transfer of an obsolete sign now perhaps more intelligible; the five points on the iron symbol of our smithies are made for the insertion of the requisite number of nails. The five points have also been carried over with reverence into the Christian creed; in deference to popular opinion, the four wounds on Christ's body, allowed by the Greek Church, have become an orthodox five for all good Catholics in the West; and the *cincochagas* of the Portuguese "most faithful" king, five times repeated on as many shields, have as much in them of mystery as religion: even

the most famous secret society of modern times has not disdained to call in the traditional mystic number in aid of its institutions, and its *five points of fellowship* are, it is to be hoped, followed out, and practically exercised, as the most important doctrine of the craft.

Thus, by a kind of practical *sorites*, the poplum of M. Lambert, and the phalere of others, has been connected with the pentagram of the British coins, and may therefore be considered identical, and only differing in arrangement, both proceeding to the sacred five, the parent of our present decimal system of arithmetic, as in the pentalpha would be found the present form of all our so-called Arabic numerals.

W. B.

SUSSEX ARCHEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, illustrating the History and Antiquities of the County. Published by the Sussex Archaeological Society. Vol. II. London: J. R. Smith, 1849.

WE have sincere pleasure in welcoming the appearance of a second volume of the "Collections" of this useful and flourishing society. The reader is presented with twenty-five original papers, of varied and most interesting character, alike valuable to the antiquary and historian. A paper by W. H. Blaaw, esq., *On the Early History of Lewes Priory*, is one especially calling for notice. Mr. Blaaw remarks: "There is not in all the volumes of the *Monasticon*, a more interesting or pleasing narrative of the foundation of any monastery, than that contained in the charter of William de Warrenne, the first founder of Lewes priory." In addition to the extracts made by Mr. Blaaw from this charter, we have a highly interesting selection from some *Annals written by a certain monk of Lewes, from the birth of Christ to the year 1312*, from the Cotton MSS. To Mr. Blaaw's translation of this manuscript (of which the Latin text is given at foot) are appended some valuable notes.

In congratulating the Sussex antiquaries upon the annual production of papers of such ability and interest, general as well as local, we may take this opportunity of paying a just tribute to their antiquarian zeal, so liberally displayed in the erection of the beautiful little chapel in South-over church, for the purpose of enshrining the remains of De Warrenne and Gundrada, which were disinterred during the railway excavations. It must now be a source of no slight pleasure to the members of the Sussex Archaeological Association, to contemplate the well-known beautiful black marble slab of Gundrada, which, after such a lapse of years, has at length found an abiding-place so appropriate, and, at the same time, reflect that these interesting discoveries may be said to have originated the foundation

of their society. This handsome cemetery was erected by subscription, at a cost of £113. *The Early History of Brighton*, by the rev. E. Turner, presents a curious ancient picture of that now magnificent watering-place. Its wealthy denizens will smile at hearing that, in 1580, there were only one hundred and two resident landmen who were able to contribute towards the annual "reparation of the church, and other public charges of the towne". The sums collected varied from fourpence to six shillings, and the total amount was £5. 2s. 0d. *Observations on the Landing of William the Conqueror*, by Mr. M. A. Lower, is a brief but interesting paper, on a subject upon which much has been said and written. Mr. Lower's researches lead him to the conclusion that Pevensey Bay was the landing-place of the Norman invader; and that the site of his camp, judging from some indications of considerable earth-works, "is probably the fields to the right of the London road, between the priory and Bohenna". *Certificates concerning the Justices of Peace in Sussex in 1587*, communicated by sir H. Ellis; and *Documents relating to the Papists and Recusants of Sussex in 1587*, by W. D. Cooper, esq., furnish an amusing picture of the anxiety of the queen's government, touching the orthodoxy of the Sussex gentry. *Letters of Edward Prince of Wales, written in Sussex in the year 1305*, by W. H. Blaaw, esq., form a paper of great historical interest and value. It appears that in January 1848, among the manuscripts in the Chapter House at Westminster, Mr. Devon found a roll of several sheets of parchment, many yards in length, and ten and a quarter inches wide, containing a series of more than eight hundred letters of Edward, the first prince of Wales, afterwards Edward II, written in a small, clear hand, by some secretary. We regret that our limits do not allow of extracts, as some of these letters are exceedingly curious. *Extracts from the Diary of Richard Stapley, gent., of Hickstead Place, in Twineham, from 1682 to 1724; with a Notice of the Stapley Family*. The 'Diary', like most memoranda of this character, is remarkable for the importance and minuteness with which the writer records his 'petty cash' disbursements. We have, for instance, "Feb. 21, paid my brother Burt 16s. 6d. for a staggs skin to make my breeches"; and "May 30, 1699, paid Wm. Martin 12s., at Thos. Butcher's, for two years tax, 1697 and 1698, for being a bachelor". (We presume it was not usual for the tax-gatherers to give 'receipts', for Mr. B. tells us he "crossed y^e book" in the presence of three witnesses, whom he names.)

Historical and Archaeological Notices of the Iron Works in the County of Sussex, from the able pen of Mr. M. A. Lower, is a paper replete with valuable information, upon a topic which hitherto we think has not met with the attention that (considering its important connexion with the history of the county) it so justly claims. Mr. Lower's researches shew to what a great extent this important manufacture had attained in the seventeenth

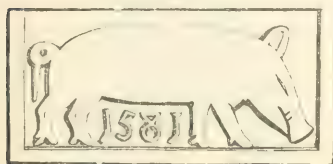
century in Sussex; and we learn that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, there were one hundred and forty iron furnaces in Sussex. Camden, speaking of the county, says: "Full of iron mines it is in sundry places, where for the making and founding thereof, be furnaces on every side, and a huge deal of wood is yearly burnt: to which purpose divers brooks in many places are brought to run in one channel, and sundry meadows turned into pools and waters, that they might be of power sufficient to drive hammer-mills, which, beating upon the iron, resound all over the places adjoining." Mr. Lower may well compare such a state of things with the quiet aspect of this beautiful county at the present day, presenting, as he observes, "a striking contrast to the ceaseless activity which characterized it in its *iron age*, in the days of the Tudors and the Stuarts". Of the earlier history of the iron trade in Sussex but little appears to be known. The rev. Mr. Turner's discoveries establish, we think, the existence of a *Roman* furnace at Maresfield. Of this fact the numerous remains, which Mr. Lower amply details, afford undeniable evidence. The annexed cuts represent some specimens of Samian pottery found during



the excavations. Sedlescomb and Westfield appear also to exhibit traces of similar occupancy by the Romans. [Mr. Lower contributed a paper upon this subject, at the Congress of the British Archaeological Associa-

tion, at Worcester, in 1818; *vide Journal*, vol. iv, p. 265. The Sussex iron trade seems to have continued to the middle of the last century. "By degrees, however," says Mr. Lower, "the glare of the furnace faded, the din of the hammer was hushed, the last blast was blown, and the wood-nymphs, after a long exile, returned in peace to their beloved retreats. Farnhurst, in western, and Ashburnham, in eastern Sussex, witnessed the total extinction of the manufacture."

Mr. Lower furnishes us with an interesting account of the manufacture of iron ordnance in Sussex, of which he believes there are existing specimens as old as the fifteenth century. The old wrought-iron banded or hooped guns, *temp.* Henry VI, preserved in the Tower, are supposed to have been made in that county. The first iron cannon cast in England, were manufactured at Buxted, by Ralph Hoge, or Hogge, in 1543. This



family resided at a place near Buxted church, called the Hog-house, from their rebus or name-device still standing over the front-door, and of which we annex the cut.

Next to the iron railing which surrounds St. Paul's cathedral, the most interesting relics of the Sussex iron manufactures are perhaps to be found in the numerous 'andirons' or 'fire-dogs', which yet exist in some of the old inns, farm-houses, etc., in the county. Of these, we give a selection from some of the most remarkable among the illustrations furnished by Mr. Lower.

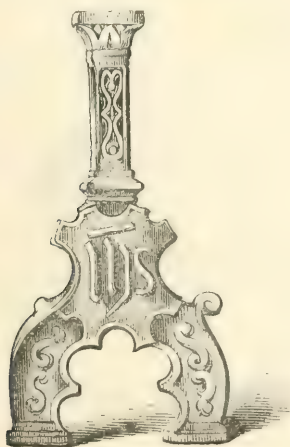


Fig. 7.

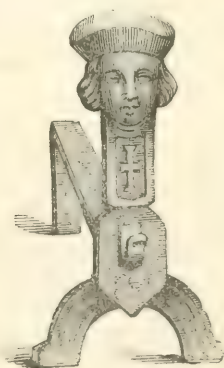


Fig. 8.

Fig. 7. represents one of a pair of andirons from Eastbourne, in Mr.

Lower's possession. From the form of the shield containing the monogram, Mr. L. thinks it probably belonging to the reign of Edward IV.

Fig. 8, one of a pair at Michelham priory, and which are believed to have formerly belonged to the apartment traditionally known as the prior's chamber, *temp.* Henry VIII, or earlier.

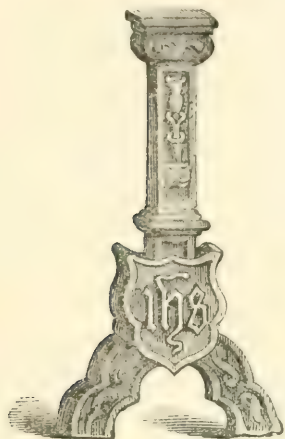


Fig. 9.

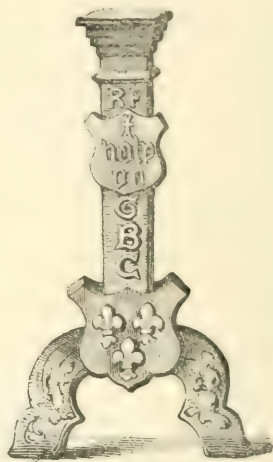


Fig. 10.

Fig. 9, one of a pair in possession of Mr. Wickens, of Buxted, probably of the early part of the sixteenth century.

Fig. 10, one of a pair at the "Sergisson's Arms", Hayward's Heath, and is remarkable for the legend on the shield, *† holy on*. Presuming it to mean *Jesus Holy One*, Mr. Lower conjectures it to be one of the many illustrations of the vulgar misconception of the sacred monogram *IHS*, or, adopting the more ancient form of the sigma, *INC*, corrupted to *ih̄s* or *ih̄c*; and that in this case the founder may have assumed the *c* to be *o*, and have thus given it a more extended meaning.

Fig. 13, represents one in the possession of Marchant, of Hurstperpoint, and bears the initials and arms of Walter Covert, of Stangham-place.

Fig. 15, is a mutilated specimen at the 'Crow and Gate', near Crowborough.

Fig. 17, is a curious specimen, apparently *temp.* James I, and is one of a pair in the possession of Mr. W. Harvey. The figure is represented with his pipe and tankard.

Fig. 19, is one belonging to Mr. Hassell, of Waldron.

Mr. Lower states, that "the series of Sussex 'andirons' ranges from the end of the fifteenth century to that of the seventeenth, or later; and,

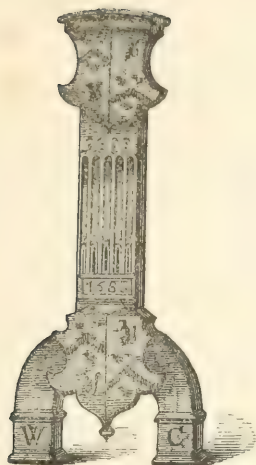


Fig. 13.

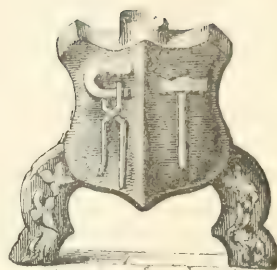


Fig. 15.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 19.

during the whole of that period, a regular decadence in the style of their devices is strikingly observable. In many of the old farm-houses, where, either from motives of economy, or from a predilection for old manners, the good wife, like the one celebrated by Horace—

“*Sacrum vetustis extruat lignis focum
Lassi sub adventum viri,*”—

these venerable and picturesque articles of furniture retain the post they have occupied for centuries. And could the uncouth heads with which they are frequently decorated, open their mouths to reveal the forgotten past, how many a tale could they unfold of the scenes of homely felicity and of domestic wretchedness which have transpired around them.

Mr. Wm. Figg's remarks on the *Ancient Slab in Bishopstone Church* (of which we annex the engraving) are well deserving an attentive perusal. The emblem of the doves at the vase is one of great antiquity, and has occupied considerable attention. We quite coincide with Dr. Maitland's observations, in his *Catacombs of the Church* (p. 146), as to the origin of the introduction of the vase, which “was probably a depository for aromatic gums”, and that it “was borrowed by the Christians from the Pagans, with such modifications of its use as time and circumstance suggested”. Among the cases cited by Dr. M., are early Christian vases, bearing inscriptions such as *PIE ZESE* (drink and live), reminding us of similar inscriptions, which appear on Roman vases in the Boulogne Museum, described by Mr. C. R. Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, viz. *IMPLE, AVE, BIBE, VIVAS*. Other examples, such as *PIE, SITIO*, etc., are given in the valuable work of Beger, descriptive of the Brandenburg Museum. All these inscriptions are suggestive of festive or convivial purposes. That the early Christians associated a higher sentiment in their adoption of such symbols is undeniable; but we think it equally clear, that the custom is traceable to the old Pagan rite of interring vases and drinking vessels with the deceased. The introduction of doves drinking from a vase, is of course of later date. Examples of this kind are furnished by Dr. Maitland. The doves sometimes occur in connexion with the Greek monogram of ‘Christ’, and are frequently represented bearing the olive-branch. Mr. C. R. Smith has some sketches of early Christian monuments at Treves, on some of which are represented the doves standing at a vase; in other instances the birds are standing on either side of a wreath enclosing the monogram of Christ; and a few have the monogram and the *alpha* and *omega* between the birds. Although these emblems are referable to so remote an age, there is nothing, we think, in the style or appearance of the Bishopstone slab to indicate a higher antiquity than the twelfth century, and it is perhaps more probably the work of the thirteenth. Such monuments are, however, of rare occurrence in this country; and our thanks are due to Mr. Figg, for



SECTIONS



BISHOPSTON :

thus perpetuating this beautiful example. Mr. Figg has appended some general remarks on the Sussex churches, which we think will prove a useful guide to the student in ecclesiastical architecture.

We are sorry our limits will not allow of more than a passing tribute to sundry other papers, well deserving an extended notice, especially *The Southdown Shepherds and their Songs*, by R. W. Blencowe, esq.; *Royal Journeys in Sussex, from the Conquest to Edward I*; *Subsidy Roll of the Rape of Lewes in 1296*, from an original manuscript, by Mr. Blaaw, etc.

Among the many pictorial embellishments, is a good engraving, by Mr. Brooke, from a curious painting on the wall of Lindfield church, representing St. Michael and St. Margaret weighing souls.

E. B. P.

NORFOLK ARCHÆOLOGY: OR MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS RELATING TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK, published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society. Part 2, vol. II. Norwich, 1849.

AMONG the interesting collections of the last part of the proceedings of the Norfolk Society, may be noticed, as possessing more than a local value, thirteen unpublished letters from sir Isaac Newton to John Covel, D.D., purchased in 1820, by Mr. Hudson Gurney and Mr. Dawson Turner, at the sale of the Macro manuscripts. Mr. Turner, who communicates these letters, observes: "Carefully and zealously as 'every hole and corner' has been ransacked, to detect whatever came from the pen of our great philosopher, or might illustrate his history or his studies, these letters, I have every reason to believe, have hitherto escaped the search. I am equally mistaken and misinformed, if they are not the only records left us of his senatorial life, and if they do not derive from that circumstance a considerable additional interest." Their date ranges from Dec. 15, 1688, to the same day of the following May. Their object was, "to persuade the members of the University of Cambridge, who had lately sworn allegiance to king James, to silence all scruples of conscience while they vowed fidelity to his hostile successor"; and Mr. Turner does not too highly estimate the importance of documents which relate to one of the most eventful periods in the history of our country, penned by the hand of one of the most illustrious of her sons,—one of the few born for all time and countries,—whom the world will ever delight to honour. Dr. Covel, the author of the *History of the Greek Church*, resided in the East for several years, and travelled in Greece and Asia Minor. His note-books, compiled during these journeys, are in the library of Mr. Turner, unpublished.

Mr. Turner's next contribution is an account of mural paintings in

Crosthwaite church, illustrated from drawings by his daughter, Mrs. Gunn. The subjects are, St. Michael overcoming Satan; the legend of St. Christopher; Christ brought before Pilate; and the Tree of the Deadly Sins, analogous in design to that in Catfield church: they are all ably described, and Mr. Turner's paper, which embodies a dissertation on the history of church mural decorations, particularly those of the county of Norfolk, should be read by all who are interested in mediæval art, and in the state of the national mind when, as the writer remarks, "pictures were the books of the multitude, the only ones they could read." We are indebted to the activity and good taste of Mrs. Gunn for the preservation of these paintings.

The bronze enamelled belt-buckles and rings, found at Sadaun, are well worthy the illustrative plate which accompanies their description; such objects cannot indeed be rendered intelligible without engravings. They are probably of Romano-Gaulish workmanship. Altogether the volume is a valuable contribution to archaeology, and is alike honourable to the ability and liberality of the leading members of the Society. C. R. S.

HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE. Proceedings and Papers. Session I, 1848-9. Liverpool.

IN introducing to our readers the first volume of the proceedings of a new society, whose generous attentions to the members of the British Archaeological Association, during the Chester Congress, created an impression not likely to be soon effaced, we almost fear that our opinion of its merits and published proceedings may be supposed likely to evince a lack of that fair impartial spirit which should characterise the reviewer's pen. That we enter upon our task with more than ordinary feelings of pleasure and goodwill must be candidly admitted. We feel, however, that we may in full sincerity congratulate the Historic Society upon this their first volume; and when we reflect that its three founders¹ are still its most active supporters, contributing by their talents, their energies, and their liberality, towards its healthy progress, there can be little doubt of its retaining its present flourishing condition. The proceedings open with an account of the meeting convened for the establishment of the Society, on the 20th June, 1848, with reports of the speeches on the occasion. The inaugural address of Dr. Hume forms the first paper, and while we give a general commendation to the liberal and enlightened spirit which pervades it throughout, we feel we cannot too urgently draw attention to the following remarks:

¹ Rev. Dr. Hume, Joseph Mayer, esq., and H. C. Pidgeon, esq.

“ The genuine efforts of intellect are not narrow and selfish, but on the contrary generous and extended; and in the attainment of our great objects, it will be a pride and a pleasure to us to recognize the services of those who labour, or have laboured, in the same field. By whatever name they are called, we greet them as auxiliaries and ‘fellow-helpers’, not as rivals; and our efforts will be to smooth their path, and promote their inquiries, by every means in our power.” And such, reader, is the spirit which should, and *does* characterize the *bona fide* lover of intellectual pursuits, whether in the fields of science, literature, or archaeology.

The various and numerous papers in this volume are for the most part illustrative of the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, to the histories of which they are valuable contributions. The Roman and early antiquities of the counties form the subject of able papers by Messrs. Ayrton, Hume, Just, Mayer, Pidgeon, etc.; and we may add, the illustrations are chiefly from the pencil of Mr. Pidgeon.

We notice, among the exhibitions to the society, fragments of Roman pottery found at Wilderspool, near Warrington, on the Cheshire side of the Mersey. Dr. Kendrick states, that the ruins of buildings, fire-places with ashes in them, fragments of amphoræ, and other articles of pottery, extending over a space of at least four acres, indicate the site of a large manufactory of pottery ware, and regrets that this interesting locality “has not met with the investigation it deserves.” We cordially join in the editorial remark in hoping that “some member or members will soon endeavour to remove this reproach.”

Some valuable papers on family histories connected with the two counties are contributed. *The ancient family of De La Wyche*, by R. Brooke, F.S.A.; *the family of Percival of Allerton*, by Thomas Heywood, F.S.A.; *the family of Holme, especially of the various Randle Holmes, the Cheshire antiquaries*, by Mr. W. W. Mortimer; *Observations on the common seal of Liverpool*, by Messrs. Pidgeon and Brooke. Mr. Brooke also contributes a paper on *Wilmslow church and its monuments*; notice of an *Ancient sculptured figure of St. George and the Dragon*, by J. Moss, esq., with further remarks upon the same subject, and a dissertation upon *Ancient Armour*, by Mr. Pidgeon. We have a pleasing paper *On the ruined chapel at Lydiat*, the property of Mr. Blundell of Ince Blundell, by Mr. Roberts; *Memoranda relating to Lancaster Castle*, by Edward Higgin, esq. Mr. J. Just contributes a paper upon the subject of a *Runic inscription* on a fragment of a cross, dug up some years ago in Lancaster churchyard, with some general observations upon Runic inscriptions. In the author's enumeration of existing specimens in Great Britain, we observe he makes no mention of the curious discoveries some years ago at Hartlepool, of which a detailed account appears in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (vol. i, pp. 185, 343). This account was furnished to

the Association in October 1845, by Mr. D. H. Haigh. The discoveries alluded to (which are illustrated by cuts) were made in the years 1833, 1838, and 1843. A very remarkable specimen, found at Wensley, is also figured in Mr. Haigh's communication; indeed we are inclined to think that Anglo-Saxon Runic inscriptions are by no means so scarce as Mr. Just appears to think. We also venture the opinion that these Runic inscriptions can claim a much higher antiquity than the "twelfth century".

We cannot conclude our remarks upon this, the first volume of the "Proceedings" of this Society, without expressing our cordial wishes for its continued prosperity and success. Of the manifold advantages of such societies we think there can now be no question; and we heartily join with Dr. Hume in asking, "Is it nothing to trace great results from small beginnings? to notice causes and their effects? to mark the power of human genius in overcoming obstacles? or the various exhibitions of human folly? Is it nothing to foreshadow the career of ourselves or others in the future by the facts of the past, and the analogies of all time? It is unquestionable, that though sound knowledge may not enrich us in the sense of increasing our account at our banker's, it enriches us in other ways not less important; it imparts happiness, and thus furnishes the *end* instead of the *means*; it enables us to enjoy that which is already acquired; it promotes virtue, and therefore security, diminishing vice and danger."

E. B. P.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURY AND WEST SUFFOLK ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE. Parts 1, 2, 3. 8vo. Bury St. Edmund's, 1849.

IN introducing to our readers these three quarterly reports of the *Proceedings* of this society, we feel we cannot speak too highly of the zeal and ability which are displayed in the papers before us. Although professedly of local interest mainly, they nevertheless contribute much valuable information to the general stores of archæology and history. In the latter department, we would especially direct attention to *Remarks on the Origin of the Duchy of Clarence*, by the rev. J. W. Donaldson; *The Princess Joane of Acre, wife of Gilbert de Clare*, and *History of Clare Castle*, by Mr. Tymms; *On the Sign of the White Swan at Clare*, by Mr. R. Almack, F.S.A.; and further remarks on the same subject, bearing the signature of W. S. W. All these papers (which may be said to be illustrative of each other) relate chiefly to the ancient and powerful family of De Clare.

With respect to the supposed Irish origin of the title of "Clarence", although supported by Speed and others, we have always been of opinion,



that the view taken by Mr. Donaldson is really the correct one; but confess, we never before saw so much good reasoning adduced for the opinion.

These researches upon the subject of the great baronial family alluded to, together with the historical and heraldic illustrations of the ancient armorial shields at the White Swan inn, at Clare, must be regarded as a valuable aid to the student in English history.

There is also a paper on *Fonts*, by Mr. J. H. P. Oakes, the first, it is presumed, of a series on this subject, of which the county of Suffolk can furnish some interesting illustrations. We trust this gentleman's suggestion, as to the cooperation of the members on this point, will meet with attention. With regard to the word *Ιηθυς*, so venerated by the early Christians, we think it had a more extended signification than that assigned to it by Mr. Oakes. It contains the initials of *Ιησους Χριστος Θεου Υιος Σωτηρ*, Jesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour. Dr. Maitland, in his description of the symbols occurring in the catacombs at Rome, speaks of cases where the word is used at the head, and sometimes at the foot, of sepulchral inscriptions, and in others where the figure of a fish is represented instead. "The fish," says Dr. Maitland, quoting Tertullian, "seems a fit emblem of Him whose spiritual children are like the offspring of fishes born in the water of baptism."

Mr. J. Warren contributes a highly interesting paper on antiquities found at Ixworth, illustrated by engravings. The Roman remains which have from time to time been discovered in this prolific neighbourhood, and which are carefully recorded by Mr. Warren, form the principal portion of the paper, which has the important advantage of having a map, indicating the sites of the various discoveries. Among the illustrations, we notice a curious wood-cut of a fragment of a Roman vase, representing a grotesque human face. A very similar specimen was found during an excavation for sewerage, in Wood-street, London, in August 1847.

We have, also, an historical account of *Ickworth Manor-House*, by Mr. Arthur Hervey; and *Extracts from the Accompts of the Churchwardens of Mellis from 1611 to 1645*, by Mr. Creed, whose copious annotations contribute to form a very amusing as well as instructive paper. We wish it were more the practice among local antiquaries to thus illustrate the many curious documents which lie mouldering in parish chests, unheeded or unknown.

A paper, by Mr. Tymms, bearing the unpretending title of *Notes towards a Medical History of Bury*, contains much curious information relative to ancient notions and practices connected with the art and mystery of "blood-letting", besides furnishing a large amount of historical and biographical information.

E. B. P.

LITHOGRAPHS OF ROMANO-BRITISH TESSELLATED PAVEMENTS. H. E. Smith, Parliament-street, York; J. Russell Smith, London.

THOSE members of the Association, who, during the third annual Congress, inspected the rich and gorgeous Roman pavements at Woodchester and at Cirencester, will read with pleasure an announcement which informs them that they can procure, at a moderate cost, lithographed copies of analogous remains, discovered in a remote part of the country, not generally known to, or appreciated by, antiquaries, as it deserves to be, on account of its interesting, but not fully explored, vestiges of antiquity. Aldborough, in Yorkshire, the *Isurium* of the Romans, contains extensive traces of Roman occupation, which we are delighted to see are being made known to the public, by Mr. H. Ercyrd Smith, and the liberality of the chief owner of the property, Mr. S. Lawson. A guide-book before us, printed at Boroughbridge, in 1846, gives a tempting insight into the miscellaneous stores preserved there, and refers to inscriptions (one of which is to the emperor Trajanus Decius), coins, personal ornaments, pottery, foundations of buildings, pavements, etc. To the pavements, so often left to the mercy of ignorance and vulgar curiosity, Mr. Smith has done justice, by the aid of Mr. W. Bowman, whose artistic skill has been witnessed in our *Journal*, in connexion with Mr. Bateman and the Derbyshire antiquities. The effect of the superior kinds of tessellated pavements, such as those of Aldborough, can only be comprehended by actual inspection, or by coloured representations, as it depends upon the harmonious blending of a great variety of patterns, some of a very complex character, into or within which are introduced, occasionally, figures of divinities, animals, trees, and flowers, and, less frequently, groups representing sports of the circus. One of the Aldborough specimens is a square composed of several very chaste and beautiful designs, enclosing a flower; another, with different patterns, has for the central picture, a lion crouching beneath a tree; the third plate is composed of fragments, on one of which is a nondescript kind of animal; and on another, the lower portion of a human female figure, by the side of which are some Greek letters; although not palpably legible, they are remarkable, as indicating the character of the composition, which is the first, it is believed, of the kind ever discovered in this country, as far as regards the use of Greek characters for naming the personages represented. At Cologne is preserved a very interesting example, in which are several busts of eminent Greek philosophers, with their names appended. In the more elaborate kinds of fresco-painting, the same practice occasionally prevailed, as appears by the recent discovery at Rome, of a series of well-executed paintings, describing the adventures of Ulysses, in which the leading characters are all named in Greek. Inscriptions in Latin.

formed in tessellated work, are more common; we may cite the *Q Natalius Natalinus et Bodeni* of the Thrupton pavement, and several are extant on the continent.

The best preserved Roman pavements in this country are those of Woodchester, Cirencester, Bignor, and Brandeish. Those of Bignor and Brandeish are particularly interesting, being *in situ*, walled and roofed in. At Bignor, several rooms of the villa are preserved; and at Brandeish, two or three apartments remain, one of which was heated by a hypocaust, which, with its furnace, is almost as perfect as ever.

When the Saxons had established themselves in Britain, the Roman pavements must have still been in perfection, and their influence on Saxon art may be traced in many of the designs on their monuments, and on those of the Normans after them. The mode of constructing tessellated floors was indeed preserved by the ecclesiastics to a very late period, as continental examples testify. At St. Omer is preserved a fine specimen, worked in the twelfth century, which is a close copy of the Roman in every respect, except that the subjects are scriptural, surrounded by the signs of the zodiac.

Mr. Esrold Smith is about to publish one of the Leicester pavements, a remarkably beautiful composition, which, we trust, will also be well subscribed for.

C. R. S.

LETTER TO DAWSON TURNER, ESQ., ON NORWICH, AND THE VENTA Icenorum. By Hudson Gurney, esq. 8vo. Norwich, 1847.

THE objects of the annual congresses of antiquarian societies would be more substantially promoted, were questions on the ancient topography of the districts in which the meetings are held, more frequently propounded, and direct antiquarian information on existing antiquities, known possibly only to a few, more liberally furnished. In examining the results of the congresses, the paucity of such contributions must be apparent. Mr. Gurney, however, most judiciously put forth this letter for the consideration of the meeting of the Archaeological Institute, held at Norwich in 1847, but hitherto we have not been supplied with an account of the discussion of the interesting subject, which, it is presumed, must have followed its reception. The matter is, however, of general as well as of local interest, and we lose no further time in giving it a more extended publicity.

The first question which Mr. Gurney proposes is, "Whether Norwich or Caistor be the 'Venta Icenorum' of the Romans; Norwich standing on

the Wensum, and Caistor on the Taes, on the opposite side of what was the great estuary." Camden, the author observes, confounds the courses of the three rivers, the Wensum, the Taes, and the Yare; placing Norwich upon the Yare instead of the Wensum, and giving the Wensum the course of the Taes. Horsley and others follow Camden in this topographical blunder, and nearly all agree in placing the *Venta Icenorum* at Caistor. Mr. Gurney, supported by the opinion of colonel Leake, comes to the conclusion, that "Norwich was the *Venta Icenorum*, and capital of the Icenii, and Caistor the fortified camp planted by the Romans over against it, on the other side of the estuary, to bridle, as was their custom, a hostile population." It must not be inferred, that Mr. Gurney supposes Norwich to have been a Roman town; it is its *British* origin and character he insists on; and we think his and colonel Leake's reasonings to be perfectly satisfactory.

The *Venta Icenorum*, however, of Antoninus's itinerary, must at the same time be considered as meaning Caistor, which was probably termed *Venta* by the Romans, as were the *Venta Belgarum* and *Venta Silurum*. Else, another name would have been laid down in the itinerary. Mr. Gurney, however, suggests, that the *castrum*, now Caistor, may have been the *Ad Tavam* of the Peutingerian table; but this name, it must be observed, does not appear in Antoninus nor in Richard of Cirencester, and it may simply mean the place of transit across the Taes, presuming it be not the *Ad Tavam* of Richard.

"The confusion between Winchester and the *Venta Icenorum*," Mr. Gurney remarks, "seems to have begun very early, both with the chroniclers and romancers, probably from the one having retained the rudiments of the name, and the other becoming known as Northwic. Sir Francis Palgrave, in the researches which he has made for his forthcoming *History of England under the Normans*, being led to the examination of all contemporary authors, in order to clear up points which he found otherwise inexplicable, has referred me to the two following passages, which would seem to prove that Norwich was the *Venta Icenorum*, almost beyond dispute." William of Poitiers, in relating the return of William the Conqueror to Normandy, in 1067, writes:—"Gwenta urbs est nobilis atque valens, cives ac finitimos habet divites, infidos, et audaces; Danos in auxilium citius recipere potest: a mari quod Anglos a Danis separat millia passuum quatuor-decim distat. Hujus quoque urbis intra mœnia, munitionem construxit, ibidem Gulielmum reliquit Osberni filium præcipuum in exercito suo, ut in vice sua interim toti regno *aquilonem* versus præesset." Ordericus Vitalis, under the same year, states:—"Intra mœnia Guentæ, opibus et munimine nobilis urbis, et mari contigua, validam arcem construxit, ibique Gulielmum Osberni filium in exercitu suo præcipuum reliquit, cumque vice sua toti regno versus *aquilonem* præesse constituit."

Subsequently, however, notwithstanding some coincidences between Norwich and Winchester, Ordericus must be understood, we think with Mr. Gurney, as meaning the latter place by "Guenta". He states, that there earl Waltheof was imprisoned, and taken out to execution to a hill over against it, where the church of St. Giles "nunc constructa est". There is a St. Giles's hill at Norwich, as well as at Winchester; but the *Saxon Chronicle* distinctly states, that Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester; and Roger of Wendover adds, that he was buried in a cross-road outside that city.

C. R. S.

DESCRIPTION DE LA VILLA ET DU TOMBEAU D'UNE FEMME ARTISTE GALLO-ROMAINE, découverts à Saint-Médart-des-Près (Vendée), par Benjamin Fillon, correspondant du Comité des Arts et Monuments. 4to. Fontenay, 1849.

THE title of this work is of itself sufficient to engage the curiosity and attention of the artist and antiquary; its contents, which can here be but briefly alluded to, will convince them of its importance, and shew the great benefit that must arise from cultivating a closer acquaintance with the researches of our members and friends on the other side of the channel. The remains of the villa at Saint-Médart are chiefly remarkable for some fine specimens of mural distemper paintings, which, though fragmentary, are evidently of a superior description to those usually found in the ruins of Roman houses. The walls had been painted, like those of Pompeii and Herculaneum, in panels, the centres of which contained subjects illustrative of history, mythology, or private life, intermixed with landscapes. Among the better preserved, is a winged cupid carrying a yellow vase; the bust of a man who holds the reins of a horse; a basket of fish; and a great variety of compositions of a marine character, some of them displaying considerable skill in the drawing and execution.

The description of these (unfortunately unaccompanied by engravings), is followed by a careful chemical analysis of the colours, by M. Chevreul, which should be read by all who are at the present day attempting to revive the decayed, if not lost, art of mural painting.

The contents of the grave of the young female artist which was discovered near the villa, are, however, much more novel and interesting. With the corpse had been interred a great variety of objects, such as had administered to the use of the deceased during life. Around the skeleton lay twenty-four glass vases of various forms, sizes, and colours; six large earthen amphore; a mortar and pestle, for mixing paints; an iron case,

with cover, containing a bronze colour-box ; a small mortar in the same metal : a case, with two small spoons, also in bronze ; two instruments, in rock crystal ; two handles of pincers, in bone ; and a palette, in basalt. The box of colours was divided into four compartments, each of which was filled with lumps of colours prepared for use. A complete analysis of the various compositions is given. To this valuable chemical examination we direct particular attention, and, indeed, the entire account is replete with curious facts, well authenticated and clearly arranged.

Included in M. Fillon's work, is a notice of a discovery at Cormier, of several Roman glass vases, one of which is described as being moulded, with representations in relief, of four combats of gladiators, with their names inscribed above them. The analogy between this rare specimen, and the fragment found at Hartlip, need scarcely be pointed out to the members of our Association.

C. R. S.

SIR HUGH OF LINCOLN, OR AN EXAMINATION OF A CURIOUS TRADITION RESPECTING THE JEWS ; with a Notice of the Popular Poetry connected with it. By the rev. A. Hume, LL.D., F.S.A., etc. 8vo. London, J. Russell Smith.

THIS tract, the production of one of our ablest provincial associates, will prove interesting to most readers, especially to those belonging to the remarkable people who were so unjustly the object of the terrific persecution of the bigots, and, indeed, of all the religious classes, during the middle ages. We have often wondered that no writer of reputation has yet taken up the subject *in extenso*, and examined with due diligence into the truth or falsehood of the numerous tales of this class which have been, as it were, woven into the truths of history. In the present instance, without presuming to say we wholly agree with Dr. Hume in the conclusions to which he has arrived, and admitting certain exceptions to his special pleadings, we cordially recommend the tract to the notice of our readers, as a very able and luminous *resumé* of the evidence we at present possess on the subject. We cannot help thinking, however, that the records of the city of London would, if carefully examined, yield further information on this difficult and obscure case.

J. O. H.

No. I. REPORTS, ETC., OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. Presented to Congress Feb. 29th, 1849. 8vo.

No. II. SMITHSONIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE. Vol. I. Washington, 1848. 4to.

No. III. ANTIQUITÉS AMÉRICAINES D'APRÈS LES MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES DES ISLANDAIS ET DES ANCIENS SCANDINAVES. Publiées sous les auspices de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, par Charles Christian Rafn. Copenhague, 1845. 4to, with prefixed "Mémoire".

THE above works we class together: they refer to the ante-Columbian antiquities of the North American continent, and the latter two, especially, cannot be disjointed in any investigation of the earliest archaeology of the Western Hemisphere.

No. I, as its title indicates, is an account of the progress of an institution, of whose activity and capabilities the splendid quarto, No. II, is the first-fruits; it also contains a plan of its next production, to be entitled: *Bibliographia Americana*, a bibliographical account of the sources of early American history, comprising a description of books relating to America, printed prior to the year 1700, and of all books printed in America from 1543 to 1700; together with notices of many of the more important unpublished manuscripts, prepared by Henry Stevens, etc. It was natural to expect in this report, by which the Smithsonian Institution is ushered into European notice, some detailed information of its founder and his antecedents, as well as the reasons and motives which induced the son (though illegitimate) of an English duke, and long an active member of the Royal Society of London, to transfer by posthumous gift the large sum of more than £100,000 to the United States of America, and leave the entire control of the expenditure of its income to their president and congress. We were, therefore, somewhat disappointed to find it merely stated, with republican terseness and brevity, "James Smithson, esq., of England, left his property in trust to the United States of America, to found at Washington, an institution which should bear his own name, and have for its object, the *increase and diffusion* of knowledge among men." Here, even, as will subsequently be shewn, the name of the donor is incorrectly given, for "James Lewis Smithson", and further on, in the Programme of Organization (p. 7), "the will of *Smithson*", and (p. 8) "deductions from the will of *Smithson*". Now, as a certain spice of vanity must be allowed to shine through the testator's instructions, that the society to be founded at Washington should be called by his own name, and from the facile umbrage which he took at some real or fancied slight by the Royal Society, we conceive that *another* deduction may be fairly made, and that he would have relished a little more ceremony in the mention of his name, and a more marked deference to his memory.

Not satisfied with this scanty information, we had recourse to a slight notice in *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* for S. p. 22. 1849, from which we transcribe the following:—"In the year 1830, died Mr. James Lewis Smithson, a natural son of the duke of Northumberland, a gentleman of some repute as a scientific chymist. He was noted for his skill in analyzing minute quantities; and it was he who caught a tear from a lady's cheek, and detected the salts and other substances which it held in solution. Mr. Smithson was a Fellow of the Royal Society; but, taking offence at some real or fancied slight towards him on their part, he left his property to the government of the United States of America."

Of this Institution, the volume No. II forms the first fruits, and a splendid addition, not only to ethnographical science in general, but more especially to American archaeology, of which, for the United States, it may be considered the foundation and commencement. A few isolated attempts at previous investigation of the immense primeval monuments of this large portion of the globe have, within the present century, been announced, and a *resumé* of them is given in the Preface; but no systematic plan of observation, with accuracy and fulness of detail, had been entered upon before Messrs. Squiers and Davis¹ engaged in the task with great energy and labour; and they have been fortunate in meeting with an institution so liberally endowed as the Smithsonian, to produce their researches with elegance, and with every necessary aid from the knife of the xylograph or the lithographic pencil. In the course of their exertions, more than two hundred earth-works have been examined by these gentlemen, and all of them measured by chain and rule, and mapped down with scrupulous care and great neatness. It is fortunate that they have done so, as the axe, and the spade, and the plough, are already doing that work of demolition bravely, which has been, in many countries of Europe, comparatively at least, already consummated. "The operations of the elements, the shifting channels of the streams, the levelling hand of public improvement, and, most efficient of all, the slow but constant encroachments of agriculture, are fast destroying these monuments of ancient labour, breaking upon their symmetry, and obliterating their outlines. Thousands have already disappeared, or retain but slight and doubtful traces of their former proportions." We need not, indeed, wonder that such should be the case, for we read: "The principal monuments are found where these bottoms are most extended, and the soil is most fertile and easy of cultivation;

¹ It is understood that these gentlemen are preparing a second volume under the same auspices; and as Mr. Squiers holds also the appointment of commissioner of the United States to some of the states of central America, and his name appears prominently in

the most recent documents on the Nicaragua question, he will perhaps have great opportunities to form a comparative estimate of the works discovered in Yucatan and adjoining provinces, by Stevens, Cattermole, and others.

and it is worthy of remark, that the sites selected for the settlements, towns, and cities, by invading Europeans, are often those which were the especial favourites of the mound builders, and the seats of their heaviest population." This tallies exactly with the principles of our nature, and with what we find was the practice in our eastern hemisphere. In all the countries of Europe, the most desert heaths and desolate wilds alone retain traces of their earliest settlers. Few are found in those districts which richly and readily repay the culture they invite; and yet we must assume, that originally they possessed evidences of aboriginal labour, as much surpassing those we now find in less favoured districts, as the numbers of inhabitants must have exceeded those upon the heaths and moors. It is fortunate, therefore, in the interests of humanity, how little soever in those of archaeology, that such is the case amongst us; nor is it less so amongst our continental neighbours. Major von Ledebour, director of the Royal Cabinet of Objects of Ancient and Modern Industrial Art at Berlin, says of the right bank of the Elbe, at the debouche of the schwarze Elster, that "it is one of the most productive sites for specimens of heathen antiquity, though a more dreary and wild district can scarcely be imagined"; and again, "much the same of Little Rössen, a village in a similar locality". Of this wild woody district, applicable only to the masting of swine, and therefore appropriately named Schweinert, his words, when translated, are: "We see in it the graves of heathen foretimes in such an aggregation, and of such colossal dimensions, as are perhaps to be found nowhere else in Germany." Many of our British antiquaries wonder that the vestiges of our ancestors are so few, their footsteps so uncertain: it will be a consolation to them, to think that the reason must be sought for in the superior cultivation of our soil, and its denser population; and therefore, instead of wondering why so few, rather to feel astonished that there are still so many.

To advert, however, to the individual works in the volume before us: the principal part of those pictured and described are situated in the valley of the Paint Creek, flowing into the Scioto, and on the great Miami, both tributaries to the Ohio, and in the state of the same name, due south from Lake Erie. The first species in number and extent are the earthworks, including tumuli, fortifications, terraces, etc. Their most frequent and favourite form is the circle with a surrounding vallum and exterior ditch, as is common in our own British encampments, though sometimes, particularly in the smaller rounds, this ditch is found in the interior area, an arrangement more peculiarly calculated to prevent egress than ingress: thence they lead, with their small circuits, to the supposition of their having possibly served for prisons. Joined to the circle is often a large quadrilateral enclosure, but as it is frequently found broken in its outline by the arc, as, if a mere appendix, they may in every instance have been subse-

quent additions to the original plan of the fortification, when the increasing numbers of the population demanded additional space, and a change of fashion had given a distaste to the original ground plan. That they were of the nature of habitable forts, the first instincts and duties of society would warrant us in believing, even if we had not European examples to confirm our opinion; I believe no example exists in Britain of a large circular terrace, raised above the surrounding plains and level lands from eighteen to twenty-two feet, and on its summit from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty feet in diameter, surrounded by a vallum, now not more than six to seven feet high.¹

To return to the American monuments: where the features of the ground opposed obstacles to a regular plan, or offered, in its precipices and escarpments, with natural and additional means of defence, the ground plan follows the irregularity of outline marked by the course of rivers and valleys, exactly as we find everywhere else the artificial heights and angles of towers and bastions were introduced to contribute their aid to the defence of a level position. It is wonderful how the nature of attack and defence has induced a similarity of design in the hill fortresses of every part of the globe; the weak points are fortified by a double and a triple vallum: the gates are in most instances winding, often covered by a sinuous counter-scarp, with salient and retreating angles, ravelins and detached redoubts: even cavaliers, in advance of the outermost point, can be shewn, if the latter have not served for sentinels on the look out. Plate xxxv has more of a religious character; it would have delighted Stukeley as a most perfect specimen of "Dracontium with Pliny's Serpent Egg" (forming, perhaps, of this holy monument the most holy) between its extended jaws, and with the frequent coil of the rattlesnake at its tail, produced by a continuation of the sinuous terrace which builds the body, so similar, that the resemblance has struck even the back settlers, and it is popularly called, as the authors print, "the Great Serpent".

As one great object of these remarks is to point out the existing conformities of European monuments with those described in this work, we can mention that besides Stukeley's discovery at Avebury, corresponding

¹ These figures are from recollection of a visit made by the Germanisten *Versammlung* of 1847, at Lübeck, under the auspices of the distinguished archaeologist, professor and archivarius Lisch of Schwerin, yet such a monument exists a little to the left of the road leading from Lubeck to Travemünde at Pöppendorf, and appears an exact fac-simile of some of the most ancient of these American mounds. It is described more particularly for such as wish to institute an exact comparison

of the corresponding antiquities of both hemispheres, by von Rumohr, a large landowner and learned antiquary of Holstein, in the fourth report of the Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg Society, for the protection and collection of native antiquities, and partially alluded to by the rev. K. Klug, pastor of St. Jacobi at Lübeck, in his description of a tumulus laid open at Waldhusen, with its enclosed cradle and instruments. (Lübeck, 1844.)

monuments of serpent worship are thought to have been discovered in other countries. The long continuous but waving line of, in their integrity, the four to five thousand stone obelisks in five rows at Carnac, are supposed to have reference to this superstition, and in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxv) is a paper by the rev. J. B. Deane, and there is a paper on another at Lochmariaker in Brittany, in the same locality, with some additional remarks. On this worship, the American editors truly remark:—"The serpent, separate or in combination, is a predominant symbol among many primitive nations. It prevailed in Egypt, Greece, and Assyria, and entered widely into the superstitions of the Celts, Hindoos, and Chinese. It even penetrated into America, and was conspicuous in the mythology of the ancient Mexicans, amongst whom its significance does not seem to have materially differed from that which it maintained in the Old World." Other remarkable coincidences in these monuments are the *hippodromes*, or perhaps more correctly, considering the want of the horse to the aboriginal Americans, the *studiums*, and that too in such considerable numbers, which our *soi-disant* arch-druid of the last century discovered round Stonehenge and other Druidical constructions. At plate vii, supplementary part, we find one 1350 feet long, and perhaps only sixty broad, enclosed on each side by high mounds, with a circular termination, in which we almost find the spina and the goal of the classic race courses; nay, at plate xxxiv, we have a somewhat smaller one, with the *carceres* in a slanting position at the starting end, so situate, at least in the Roman circus, that all the charioteers might start with equal advantage, and at the same distance from the goal when the barriers were thrown open (*vide* Rich's *Companion to Latin Dict.*, etc., s. v. *carcer* and *circus*, with the woodcut illustrations) and at the farther end is a circular space of three hundred feet in diameter, on which the six racers, for so many is the number of the *carceres*, might wheel round without jostling one another, and to complete the resemblance, is the *porta* and *via triumphalis*, for the victor to proceed thence to the city.

Of the *tumuli* or *barrows*, some far surpass any similar remains in Europe. There is a great conical mound at Miamisburg in Ohio, sixty-eight feet in perpendicular height, and eight hundred and fifty-two in circumference; and a truncated pyramid is mentioned at Cahokia in Illinois, with an altitude of eighty feet, and upwards of two thousand feet in circumference at its base, containing by estimation twenty million cubic feet of solid earth.

Plate xxxix in the volume commences those kind of raised earthworks or terraces, with regular wings and sloped ascents, forming, in a great measure, a connecting link with the similar embankments at Mitla and Palanque in Mexico, and Uxmal, near Merida, in Yucatan. We can only shortly allude to the curious figures of men and animals depicted in

many of the other illustrations. Plate XI, gives us the first view of them principally from Winconsin; the singular remains are for the most part structures of earth, bearing the forms of beasts, birds, reptiles, and even of men of gigantic dimensions, constituting huge basso-relieves upon the face of the country. One of the most conspicuous "occurs about eighteen miles west of the four lakes, and seven miles east of the blue mounds in Dade, county Winconsin, and consists of six quadrupeds, six parallelograms, one circular tumulus, one effigies of the human figure, and one small circle. It is not easy to make out from the effigies the character of the animals intended to be represented. It has been suggested that they were designed to represent the buffalo, which formerly abounded in the vicinity, but the absence of a tail and the characteristic hump of that animal, would seem to point to a different conclusion. They display a closer resemblance to the bear than to any other animal with which we are acquainted. The figures vary in size from ninety to one hundred and twenty feet. In many other places, as at this point, they occur in ranges one after the other, at irregular intervals. In the midst of this group is the representation of a human figure, placed with its head towards the west, and having its arms and legs extended. Its length is one hundred and twenty-five feet, and it is one hundred and forty feet from the extremity of one arm to the other; the conical mound in the centre of this group is the most elevated work." So far the description of the editors, but it occurs to us that the group is the very intelligible representation of a sledge with its rider, and a train of six dogs, wheeling round the conical mound last described, which action is particularly represented by the last animal being in a position almost at right angles with the man, behind whom are the oblongs to represent the vehicle, and also with the remainder of the animals. Taking the rudeness of the age and workmanship into account, the impracticability of the material, and the scale and material, the whole is really not a bad representation of the dog-drawn sledges of the Kamschatdales of the present day; supposing their horns to have been omitted from the impracticability of raising earthworks that would stand well and in proportion to represent them, they might have signified the elk or the reindeer. Whatever animal, however, be taken, it is perhaps a legitimate inference that we have here the colossal trophy of a successful super-Atlantic charioteer at some American race; why not the curious hippodrome, or more correctly here, cynodrome, with its starting cells (carceres), its course, its meta, and road of triumph to the town?

The editors think that these figures "present slight analogy to any others of which we have an account in any portion of the globe." Perhaps Mr. Squier had never heard of the *White Horse*, on the side of the hill, near Wantage, in Berkshire, to which it has given the name, and which exactly one thousand years from this present 1849, looked down on the birth

of our great Alfred: or of that beneath the earth works on Braddon hill, in Wiltshire; nor the red horse of Warwickshire; and that no pendant to the American works may be wanting, there is at Cerne, in Dorsetshire, the colossal figure of a naked man, armed with a club, and raised by a local historian to the dignity of a Bad Durotriges: the cross too, in plate xxxvi, has its fellow by the white leaf cross in Buckinghamshire, and another in the northern counties; the only difference betwixt the modes of representing these ancient figures is, to speak in sphragistic terms, that of the cameo and intaglio; the Britons, working on the declivity of the chalk hills that have given their island the discriminating name of Alb-oen, or white islands, found it easier, more enduring, and more conspicuous to cut their monuments, as we now see them in outline through the turf to the substratum of stone below: the Americans, working on level plains, had no other means of executing their colossus, than by carving away the surrounding soil, and carrying the excavated earth within the desired outline, till the required height was obtained. On plates xlii, xliii, and xlii, are exhibited the same kinds of monuments, in a greater variety of forms; birds with wide expanded wings (one with some animal for a prey in its claw), bats, rats, and cats, may be traced by a moderate stretch of the imagination. We must pass unwillingly over chap. vi, "Mounds"; and chap. vii, "Mounds of sepulture", of which some have been opened and have given very curious results (the great one at Grave Creek produced three or four thousand shell beads, a number of ornaments of mica, several bracelets of copper, and various articles carved in copper), as well as chaps. viii and ix, though very inviting of remark. The anomalous one, p. 178, bears some analogy to the Ship Temple at Dundalk (*Archæol.* vol. vii, p. 149), and still greater to those in Denmark, as noticed by Etats Rath Thomsen, in his *Leitfaden zur nordischen Alterthumskunde*, p. 34, *Schiffssatzungen*. Chap. x treats of the remains of art found in the mounds; divided into pottery, surpassing certainly in beauty of outline and decoration the ceramic objects found in European early interments; at page 193 is a specimen of this art, in terra cotta, representing a toad, far surpassing in expression the famous *bubones Bambergenses*, placed on each side of the southern entrance of the cathedral at Bamberg, in Franconia, supposed to have been objects of Wendic worship; these Linnaeus took to designate a particular genus of the reptile in his *Systema Natura*, and which Joseph v. Hammer (now Purgstall) adduced, amongst other equally improbable works of art, as testimonies of impieties and impurities against the Templars, in his *Mysterium Baphometis Revelatum*. The metal instruments are of course confined to copper. No. 4 is the exact prototype of similar celts found in mounds in various parts of Europe, and still in daily use in Iceland, under the name of *paulstabe* (from *isl. pall*, a spade or hoe), vide *Leitfaden*, pp. 53, 54, where a wood-cut is given, and may be compared.

The rings are also found on our side of the Atlantic, but obviously of too natural a shape on which to ground any analogies. Chapter xiii, gives us implements of stone, of which the rudest, being merely chipped flints, are necessarily the most resembling the earliest implements from similar materials in Europe. There is, however, a pipe, of very artistic form and elegant workmanship; but this does not appear to have been recovered from a mound. The wood-cut of a thin sheet of mica, is possibly an ornament for the hair or forehead, which gives the exact outline of the orb, and serpents, or wings on each side, so common on the temples of Egypt. Chapter xv introduces us to a most interesting feature—the sculptures from the mounds, consisting of a great number of human heads, masks of human features, etc. “For though few have been found in the tumuli, yet several have been discovered, under such circumstances as to leave little doubt that they belong to the mound era.” These, with the crania, plates XLVII and LVIII, are valuable acquisitions to the ethnologist; for it is from the study of the skulls which these receptacles of the dead give out, and from their conformities, that we may construct the most exact theory of the origin and connexion of the different races of men throughout the globe; and it is satisfactory to know that, since Blumenbach’s judicious classification of our species by the formation of the cranium, the attention of the archaeologist has been particularly directed to the subject, as the most valuable marks of coeval existence, and of the identities or differences of nations.

In Meeklenburg, the writer has the assurance of Archivarius Lisch, that the classification of the skulls disinterred, by his active exertions, from the frequent tumuli of that country, is a particular object of his care; and at the latest congress of the Scientific Association at Birmingham, a paper was read on the crania of the ancient Picts.

We may mention, after stating so many conformities, a few of the differences which a review of these monuments offer, on a comparison with similar European ones. First, in such an abundance of works of art, the entire absence of every description of stone works, or of those regular stone circles, or even cromlechs or kisthavens, which are so prominent a characteristic of the ancient Europeans. One is certainly here figured, in plate xxx, justly styled unique, and in its ground-plan giving the exact form of an ancient Celtic torques; its opening end curving into hoops, and with five stone walls, slightly radiating from the opposite side, so as to form very correctly the shapes of pendant drops from the huge ornament, but upon the most colossal scale, as its conjugate diameter is stated at one hundred and seventy feet, its conjugate at two hundred and fifty feet, and the pendants proportionate. The epithet unique would, however, scarcely be correct for anything but its curious outline, as in *Silliman’s Journal* (vii, p. 112-115), two other large arches of stones are mentioned.

on a cromlech in the state of New York, composed of a granite block of many tons weight, raised with a slant of from two to five feet, on seven stone supporters. Four stone monuments, amongst the unnumbered earthworks of America, may be said to be the small exception that strengthens the rule, and those noted in Silliman may have been the latest works of the red man, at the suggestion, perhaps with the aid, of his white invaders. The other difference, is the entire absence of anything like written characters inscribed on the monuments found either above or beneath the soil. The concluding chapter xvii is rubricated on inscribed rocks, but upon examination, sculptured stones, and that only by a few rude scratches of men and animals, are discovered to have been intended. They are a valuable addition to those at Deighton in Massachusetts, described in our *Archæologia*, but more at large, with many fac-simile drawings from different periods and writers, in the first volume of *Antiquitates Americanae*, the predecessor of the vol. number III at the head of our article, but which the present writers pass over with very cursory remarks; nevertheless the exertions of the Copenhagen Society, by which they were first made known, have brought forward many undoubted facts and monuments, and the relations of many expeditions from the former to a place called Vinland, which seems undoubtedly to have been some part of the continent of the United States; and number III is a reproduction from vol. i. of two relations of various voyages of discovery from Icelandic manuscripts to this coast, and contains p. 2, *Narrationes de Eriko rufo et Grandlandis*; p. 77, *Historia Thorpimi Karlsfni et Snorri Thorfrandi filii*; prose relations, interspersed, like the *Edda* and our Saxon chronicle, with occasional poetry; professor Rafn may be considered to have given three versions of the original Icelandic: one in parallel columns, in modern Danish, and at the foot of both a Latin translation, to which is added a paraphrase in French, so that these narratives are made easily accessible. Notwithstanding their antiquity, the narratives of voyages of discovery, above five centuries before Columbus, are very amusing, from a certain naïveté of style, and a conversationally graphic mode of description, incident to all the Icelandic Sagas, as well as a guarantee of their genuine truthfulness; the incidents remind us much of the narratives of the earliest visits of our navigators to the islands of the Pacific; and the *rencontres* and traffic with the savage inhabitants are, at this remote period, not materially different from similar passages which Anson and Cook experienced in their exploratory expeditions; the first sign of habitation they met with is mentioned as a wooden corn shed (*Kornhjalm nubiliarium frumentarium ex ligno*); at p. 43. they meet the first natives; “et vident tres carabos (coracles) et sub singulis ternos homines”; out of these nine, eight were killed, and one made his escape, and roused his countrymen to revenge, for in the following page we find: “innumera caraborum multi-

tudo advolavit"; and a fight commenced; the skraglinga (under this denomination we are to understand the natives are meant) threw their darts, and seem then, like the ancient Persians, to have retreated: deinde vero quam vehementissime pro se quisque aufugiant" The result is like Cook's last voyage, fatal to the leader of the invaders. Thorvaldus receives a javelin wound, which he perceives is mortal, and his dying injunctions are precise and characteristic: "Nunc mea sententia est ut protectionem vestram quam citissime ad redeundum paretis me vero in promontorium quod mihi commodissimum ad habitandum est visum deportatis: fieri potest ut vera mihi verba ore excederint ibi quippe aliquantis per habitaturo. Hic me humate et cruces a capite et a pedibus statuite, eumque locum semper exinde Krossanesum (*promontorium crucium*, *English Crossness*) appellate." This locality, professor Rafn thinks himself justified in fixing on the map which illustrates these voyages at the northern promontory which forms the entrance into Plymouth harbour from Massachussets Bay, and now called Gurnet Point. It would be curious if at any time such a grave and monumental stones should ever turn up from the sands with which the coast abounds, and in which it possibly may lay buried, reserved as a proof to very distant ages of the truthfulness of this narrative. These two volumes of *Antiquitates* have been very favourably received in America, and the truth of their narratives is there generally admitted; and that the editor is fully impressed with the same conviction, we may learn from the concluding paragraph of his "mémotre", which we subjoin as the close of this notice.

"Après avoir pris connaissance de ces documents authentiques, qui sont maintenant accessibles à tout le monde, personne ne pourra plus douter de la certitude de ce fait historique, que durant le dixième et le onzième siècle, les anciens Scandinaves découvrirent et visitèrent une grande partie des côtes orientales de l'Amérique du Nord, et chacun sera convaincu que des relations entre les deux pays subsistèrent pendant les siècles suivants. Le fait est essentiel et certain et incontestable."

The absence of an index to either work is a great defect deserving remark: a classification of subjects ought to accompany every scientific volume, for the more readily making a reference to its contents. W. B.

NOTICES OF REMARKABLE MEDIEVAL COINS, MOSTLY UNPUBLISHED. By J. Lindsay, esq. 4to. Heggine, London; Moore, Cork.

THE medieval currency of Europe is a branch of numismatic science which has not had a fair amount of attention bestowed upon it. Varied and fanciful in its detail, and puzzling in its appropriation, it has been dismissed as too barbarous for study, and too rude for admiration. Yet the history of the dark ages is here written, and though, perhaps, darkly also, it may yet assist the future student, when properly elucidated, though not so luminously as the Greek and Roman series irradiates the classic historian's path. It is folly to cast aside any historic monument because it is uncouth or obscure; it may be all we possess of a rude and obscure period; and we may yet have to revert to these despised things as our only tangible evidences. The hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt at one time spoke not to the most learned savans; till the tact and ingenuity of a few again gave life to the words of the mummied dead. The coins of the middle ages have yet a tale to tell; and we owe to a few able thinkers and persevering students all that we at present know. Whoever aids the onward march of knowledge does some good service, and we are glad to rank our associate Mr. Lindsay among the few who tread the seldom-trodden field of medieval research. His name and works are favourably known to all numismatists; and we hope the present pamphlet will be but the precursor of something more extensive. The plates which accompany it appear to be executed with great care and truthfulness, and contain specimens of sixty-six coins, ranging from about the eighth to the fifteenth century inclusive; many of which Mr. Lindsay has appropriated, while others require further study, to be satisfactorily assigned to their original fabricants.

E. W. F.

PLATES BY THE ANTIQUARIAN ETCHING CLUB. Parts 1, 2, 3. 4to.

WE have delayed our notice of these etchings until the plates have numbered more than fifty. This is an evidence that the hopes of the projector of the club (A. H. Burkitt, esq.) have been fully realized, by the friendly cooperation of antiquarian friends. Our delay has been so far useful, that we can now speak more fully on the merits of the works of this body; and it must be allowed, that a decided improvement has appeared in each number, both as far as regards the selection of subjects, as well as their execution. Where all work *con amore*, it may seem invidious

to make distinctions, or we should point out Mr. Bromley's Norman font, at Harrow, and Mr. Windle's churches, with Mr. Burkitt's own etchings, as among the best. Byfleet church, and the monument of Lysierates, are also very good. We would venture to suggest, that the bridge at Festiniog (pl. 48) has no claim to a place in the work, in an antiquarian point of view; nor do we think the bit "near Brighton" (pl. 14), of importance enough for a similar honour. The plates should always present some distinct and peculiar feature of interest, and they would thus become of value as references. Without judicious selection, they will become a mere heterogeneous collection of fragments; while if they be confined to objects of antiquarian interest hitherto unengraved, they will always be of value, however rude in execution.

F. W. E.

MEMOIRS OF TOBIAS RUSTAT, ESQ., YEOMAN OF THE ROBES TO KING CHARLES II, ETC.; with Notices of some eminent contemporaries. 8vo. Lumley, London, 1849. By William Hewett, jun., esq.

THE author has succeeded in doing justice to the memory of an ancestor, who, living under a profligate monarch, and surrounded by untoward and vicious circumstances, kept himself "unspotted from the world"; and, with a neglected education, bestowed his riches in encouraging literature, founding almshouses and charities, and in doing other works of benevolence. Such men are by far too few, and Mr. Hewett need offer no apology for thus placing the worth of Rustat in a prominent point of view, even if he had not succeeded in blending with the detail of unostentatious acts of goodness, those more popular and exciting biographical anecdotes, which in the eyes of the world afford greater attraction than the narrative of the noblest deeds of philanthropy, though they bless generations yet unborn.

C. R. S.

GÉOGRAPHIE DU MOYEN AGE, étudiée par Joachim Lelewel. Atlas. Oblong folio. Bruxelles, 1849.

FOR a general account of the maps of the middle ages, we need only refer to Mr. Wright's paper, published in the Gloucester volume of the Association; and observe, that the value of these documents consists in the circumstance, that while the medieval geographer gave only common

facts in his written treatises, he often inserted in his map, when he undertook to make one, the more exact or newer information which he might happen to possess. In fact, he felt himself obliged to fill up the outline. We believe that two or three series of fac-similes of these maps are in preparation by the French geographers; but as they wish to produce them the full size, and with all the details of the originals, the heavy expense attending the publication hinders it from making rapid progress. In the small atlas, the title of which is given above, M. Lelewel has introduced a very large collection of diminished copies of medieval maps; and he has made his collection more complete and valuable by adding to it copies of the maps of the medieval, Greek and Arabian geographers. As a manual of medieval chartology, we earnestly recommend this curious and important volume. The author is well known by his numerous writings on numismatics, and on general history; as, for instance, the standard works, "*Type Gaulois*", "*Numismatique du Moyen Age*", and the "*Histoire de Pologne*".

C. R. S.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

Page 85, line 30, for Coins of Vespasian II, *read* "Coins of Vespasian, second brass".

— 244, — 7, for what, *read* "which".

— 262, — 17, for admiral, *read* "admirable".

Is the account of the Proceedings at the Chester Congress, in a paper by the rev. Benjamin Mardon, concerning the widow of John Milton, by a typographical error (p. 322), the first wife of the poet is said to have been the daughter of Richard Parot, esq., of Forest-Hill, near Oxford, whereas it should have been printed Mary, daughter of Richard Powell, esq., of Forest-Hill, etc. It is not a little singular, that the present occupier of what remains of the house of Richard Powell, is a most respectable yeoman of the name of Parrott, who also holds a large farm in the parish, formerly the freehold of the Powells. Our associate, Harry Lupton, esq., of Thame, Oxfordshire, has kindly communicated, that "Richard Powell was indebted to Milton's father in the sum of £500, secured on the Forest-Hill

estate. Richard Powell was a great loyalist, and at the same time a great spendthrift. The proximity of his house to Oxford, then held by the king, was doubtless a source of great expense to him, as the officers of that garrison always received a welcome from the old cavalier, and he had also made many advances for the royal cause. When the garrison of Oxford fell—where the family of Powell had been obliged to take refuge, on account of their known principles—his house and property was made desolate and laid waste by the republicans, and he returned to a miserable domicile dreadfully reduced in circumstances. The property was sold to pay off his debts, and taken to, I believe, by Milton. It was then sold to a family of the name of Wright, in Oxford; by them disposed of to the Crewes, of Cheshire; a person of the name of Parsons bought it of them, but not being able to make good his purchase, it came into the possession of some brothers named Miles, who sold it to Lincoln College, to pay off the heavy mortgages with which it was burthened; of course, as corporate bodies of that sort do not sell, they are the present owners. The first rencontre of Mary Powell with Milton, was a very singular one; she had mounted a pony they named Clover, and her brother Dick another, for a harum-scarum scamper through the lanes and meadows—she leading; just at the turn of Holford's Close, they came short upon a gentleman walking under the hedge, in a sober genteel suit, and of a most beautiful countenance, with hair like a woman's, of a lovely pale brown, long and silky, falling over his shoulders,—and nearly went over him, for Clover's hard forehead knocked against his chest; but he stood it like a rock; and looking first at her, and then at Dick, smiled, and spoke to the latter, who seemed to know him, turned and walked by them, sometimes patting Clover's shaggy mane. She says, 'I felt a little ashamed, for Dick had set me on the pony just as I was, my gown somewhat too short for riding. He offered me some wild flowers, and asked me their names; and when I told him, he said, I knew more than he did, etc.' This was on May 8th, 1643.¹ This was Mary, the first wife of Milton, a lovely thoughtless country girl, not at all calculated for such a man. The house at Great Milton, Oxon, now standing, must have been the residence of Milton's grandfather, who disinherited his son, for abjuring the Romish faith. Charles I gave the royal forests of Shotover and Forest-Hill to Bertie, lord Lindsay; this was afterwards revoked, it having been previously promised to another."

¹ See "Journal of the Maiden and Married Life of Mary Powell", in Sharpe's *London Journal*.

RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

- The Classical Sources of the History of the British Isles, or the Rise and Fall of the Romans in Britain. By S. Bannister, M.A., formerly Attorney General of New South Wales. London : Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1849.
- Part I, price 5s., Architectural and Picturesque Illustrations of the Ancient Parish Churches of the Isle of Wight, with concise historical, descriptive, and critical remarks. Consisting of exterior and interior views and architectural plans of the churches, with representations of the fonts, monumental tombs and brasses, and other objects of interest. The whole drawn on zinc and stone, by William Tucker Stratton, Architect, Newport, Isle of Wight. The letter-press by William Jacobs and William T. Stratton. The entire work will contain nearly Eighty Plates, and will be completed in Eight Parts.
- Collectanea Antiqua, Vol. II. Part I. By C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. The Roman Villa at Hartlip, Kent ; illustrated with nine etchings, a plan, and woodcuts. J. Russell Smith, London.
- Vestiges of Old London. By John Wykeham Archer. Part I, imperial 4to. Bogue, London.
- Séances Générales tenues à Sens, à Tours, à Angoulême et à Limoges, en 1847, par la Société Française pour la conservation des monuments historiques. Paris et Caen. 8vo. 1848.
- Bulletin Monumental, ou Collection des Mémoires sur les Monuments historiques de France, publié sous les auspices de la Société Française, etc., et dirigé par M. de Caumont, 15e Vol. No. III. Paris, 8vo. 1849. Contents :—I. Notice sur le cabinet des antiques de la ville d'Auch ; par M. C. de Crazannes.—II. De l'appareil des arcades en plein-cintre ; par M. Victor Petit.—III. Notice descriptive de l'église de la Lande-de-Cubzac ; par M. Léo Drouyn.—IV. Description de l'autel et du tabernacle de l'église Notre-Dame de Vire, par MM. Vimont.—V. Notice sur quelques granges dimières du département de l'Eure ; par Madame Philippe-Lemaître.—VI. Mélanges d'archéologie, etc.
- Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville. 8vo. 1844 to 1849. Abbeville.
- Introduction à l'Histoire Générale de la Province de Picardie ; par D. Grenier, publiée d'après le manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Première livraison. 4to. Amiens, 1849.
- The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark ; by J. J. A. Worsaae. Translated and applied to the illustration of similar remains in England, by William J. Thoms. London, 8vo. 1849.
- Etchings of Roman Antiquities discovered at Caerleon ; by J. E. Lee, 8vo. 1850. J. Russell Smith.

WORKS PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION.

- A Descriptive Catalogue of an extensive Collection of Ancient Baronial and other Seals of Scotland. By H. Laing, 25, Clyde-street, Edinburgh. (*By Subscription, One Guinea.*)

- Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester, the site of ancient Corinium. By Messrs. Baily and Jones, Cirencester. (*By Subscription*, 12s.)
- An Account of the Roman Wall which extends from Wallsend to Bowness; by the Rev. J. C. Bruce. Illustrated by twelve plates, and numerous engravings on wood (*By Subscription*, 16s.) J. R. Smith.
- Les Eglises de l'arrondissement de Dieppe. Par M. l'Abbé Cochet.
- The Chronicle of Battel Abbey, in Sussex, from the vow of its foundation by William the Conqueror, at the battle of Hastings, 1066, to the year 1176. Originally compiled in Latin by a Monk of the establishment, and now first translated from a manuscript in the British Museum. By Mark Antony Lower, M.A. (*By Subscription*, 7s. 6d.) J. R. Smith, Compton-street.
- The History and Present State of Central America, and of portions of Mexico and New Grenada, showing the prospects of Ship-passage between the two oceans. By S. Bannister, M.A., formerly attorney-general of New South Wales. This work belongs to the *Records of British Enterprise beyond Sea*, of which the first part of the first volume is published.
- The Architecture of Egypt. By Sir Gardner Wilkinson. A work on Egyptian architecture, by the author of *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, is ready for publication; and subscribers are requested to write to his address, at the Athenæum Club, Pall-Mall, where their letters will be opened, in order that their names may be forwarded to him in Italy. It will contain eighteen plates, sixteen inches by twelve (three of them double), and the letter-press will be about a hundred pages. The columns, drawn all to the *same scale*, of about three inches to five feet, are arranged in orders, and the temples are classified, as in other systems of architecture. As only one hundred and twenty-five copies are to be struck off, it will be necessary for those who desire to have the work, to apply immediately. The price will be Two Guineas; and copies which have capitals and details coloured, Two and a-half Guineas.
- A coloured lithographic print of the Roman Tessellated Pavement in Jurywall-street, Leicester. (*By Subscription*, 12s.) H. E. Smith, York; and J. Russell Smith, London.

PRESENTS TO THE ASSOCIATION.

- BY THE AUTHOR...Description du Sarcophage découvert à St. Irénée, et des Tables de Claude, par A. Comarmond, 4to. Lyon, 1847.
- .. Description de l'Ecrin d'une Dame Romaine, trouvé à Lyon en 1844, par le même, 4to. Paris, 1844.
- .. Des Maîtres de Pierre et des autres Artistes Gothiques de Montpellier, par J. Renouvier et A. Ricard, 4to. Montpellier, 1844.
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